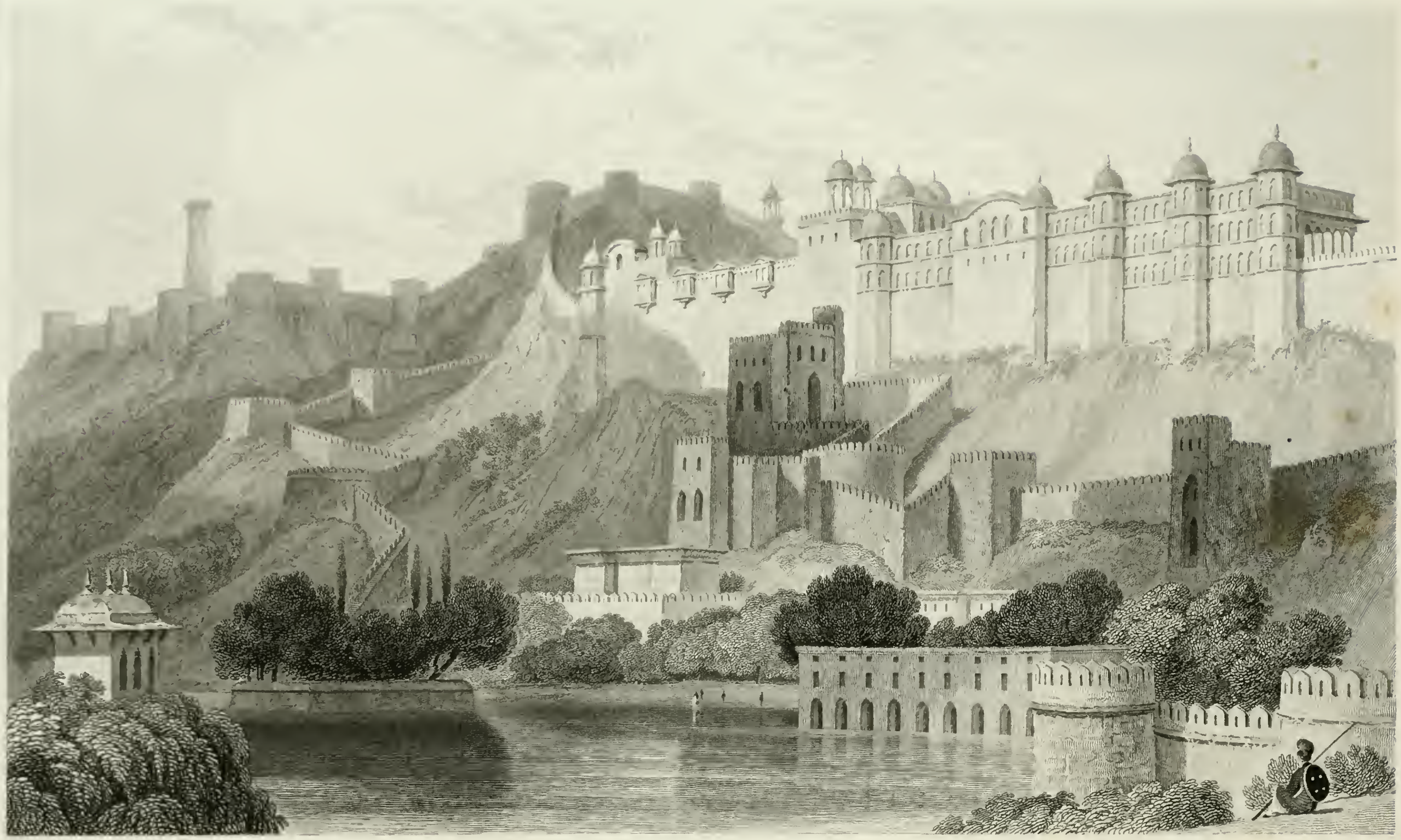

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# NARRATIVE

OF A

JOURNEY THROUGH THE

# UPPER PROVINCES OF INDIA,

FROM

CALCUTTA TO BOMBAY, 1824—1825,

(WITH NOTES UPON CEYLON,)

AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO

MADRAS AND THE SOUTHERN PROVINCES, 1826,

*AND LETTERS WRITTEN IN INDIA,*

BY THE LATE

RIGHT REV. REGINALD HEBER, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

IN TWO VOLUMES,

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# NARRATIVE

OF

# A JOURNEY,

*&c.*

## CHAPTER XXII.

JYEPOOR TO AJMERE.

*Climate—Government—City—Palace—Durbar—Presents from the Rannee—Revenues—Umeer—Lake—Great Palace and Fort—Death of the Soubahdar—Departure from Jyepoor—Manners of the Rajpoots—Children of the Sun—Salt Lake—Opium—Nuptial Procession—Message from the Rannee.*

The climate of Jyepoor is described as less disagreeable than I should have expected. The rains are never heavy, the cold months are bracing and healthy, and the hot winds, though fierce during the day, generally cease at night. The court and territory are in a very distracted state. The Rannee's new minister is hated by a majority of her subjects, and her authority, in consequence, is very uncertain through the greatest part of her possessions. The people into whose hands she has thrown herself hate and fear the English, and a great proportion of her "Thakoors," or nobles, shut up in their mountain castles, pay no tribute, obey no commands, and declare that they will obey none till the young Raja, now a child of six years old, is placed on the musnud, and surrounded by a council such as they can confide in. Though, therefore, the

Rannee has in the present instance carried her point with our Government, and obtained its concurrence to a ministry of her own choice, there is little probability of matters going on smoothly much longer between us, or even if the British were out of the case, of the present people being long able to hold the reins of government. Colonel Raper said that he could easily believe that it was want of power which made her vakeel fail in procuring us supplies, and in compelling the attendance of the horsemen, and he regretted to say that he did not know where to look for more serviceable troops, or a better proveditore. He advised me, therefore, to take on Skinner's horse to Nusseerabad, as my best dependance in case of need. Of any serious necessity for them there was, thank Heaven, very little likelihood, inasmuch as, however unruly the country, they are all in awe of the numerous cantonment of Nusseerabad, nor was my present escort unequal to protect us from any ordinary plunderers.

*January* 29.—This morning Colonel Raper took me to see the city and palace, as well as to present me in Durbar. The city is a very remarkable and striking one. Being all the work of one sovereign, Jye Singh, it is on a regular plan, with one very wide street crossed at right angles by three others, with a square in the centre of the town which serves as a market-place. The houses are generally two stories high, but some three and four, with ornamented windows and balconies, and many of them finely carved. They are interspersed with some handsome temples in the same style with those of Benares, and in the centre of the town, and adjoining the palace, is a very noble tower or minaret of, I should suppose, 200 feet high. The town is tolerably clean, but a great part of the houses are in a state of decay. Still, however, it has a population of 60,000 souls. The palace, with its gardens, occupies about one-sixth part of the city. It presents to the streets an extremely high front of seven or eight stories, diminishing in the centre to something like a pediment, and flanked by two towers of equal height topped with open cupolas. Within

are two spacious courts and many smaller ones, surrounded by cloisters of stone pillars, except in the verandas leading to the principal rooms, which are of marble. The gardens, which I was first taken to see, are extensive, and, in their way, extremely beautiful, full of fountains, cypresses, palm-trees, and flowering shrubs, with a succession of terraces and alcoves, none of them, singly taken, in good taste, but all together extremely rich and striking. Two very large and handsome tanks terminate the grounds towards the north. The garden is surrounded by a high embattled wall, having a terrace at the top like that of Chester, and beneath it a common passage, (as one of the ministers of state, who accompanied us, told me,) for the Zennana to walk in. I was introduced to some of these ministers, or "sirdars," during my progress through the palace, under their several official names of "Mouchtar," "Bukshee," &c. &c. Most of them were tall, good-looking men, in very handsome and becoming dresses. The whole establishment of the palace and gardens seemed well kept up, considerably better than that of Lucknow, and every thing much exceeded my expectation except the military show, which was absolutely nothing. There were two or three police men in the gate of the city, and four or five, (I do not think there were more,) lounging fellows with shields slung over their shoulders and lances lying near them, in different parts of the out-buildings. I was surprised at so poor a muster among the warlike and turbulent Rajpoots, but recollected that in a country where every citizen and cultivator is a soldier, on ordinary occasions every soldier will be a cultivator or citizen. The Resident's suwarrs and my own five men, together with a little guard of seven orderly sepoys, who, as usual on state occasions, followed me, and as many of my servants who chose to see the sight, were permitted without scruple to attend us through all the garden and most of the lower apartments of the palace, till, on ascending to an upper story, those who had swords or other arms, were requested either to stay below or to surrender their weapons. The ascents throughout the palace are not by stairs,

but by inclined planes of very easy slope, and certainly less fatiguing than the European style. The passages are all narrow and mean, and the object in the whole building seems more to surprise by the number, the intricacy, and detail of the rooms and courts, than by any apartments of large size and magnificent proportions. A great part of the windows are glazed with small panes of stained or plain glass in latticed frames of white marble. The stained glass was said to be from Venice. These upper rooms, which are in fact a part of the Zennana, have their floors chiefly covered with stuffed white cotton quilts, over which, in certain places, sitringees are placed, and, in the more costly rooms, small Persian carpets. There are very strong wooden doors in different parts of the building whose hinges and locks are as rude as those of a prison, but the suites of apartments themselves are only divided by large striped curtains hung over the arched doorways. The ceilings are generally low, and the rooms dark and close; both the walls and ceilings are, however, splendidly carved and painted, and some of the former are entirely composed of small looking-glasses in fantastic frames of chunam mixed with talc, which have the appearance of silver till closely examined. The subjects of the paintings are almost entirely mythological, and their style of colouring, their attitudes, and the general gloomy silence and intricacy of the place reminded me frequently of Belzoni's model of the Egyptian tomb.

After a long suite of these strange rooms, we were taken into a very striking and beautiful apartment where breakfast was prepared for us. It was a small pavilion with arches on either side, opening into two small cloistered courts, the one filled by a beautiful cold bath about thirty feet square, the other by a little flower garden divided, parterre wise, with narrow winding paths of white marble, with a jet d'eau in every winding, to the number, I should think, of fifteen or twenty, which remained playing all the while we were at breakfast. Nothing could be prettier or more refreshing than the sight and sound of these tiny fountains, though I did

not think the effect improved when all at once several of the principal ones began to throw up water tinged with some yellow dye. It was evidently much admired by the natives, and reminded me of " the golden water," which, together with " the talking bird" and the " singing tree," cost the princess in the Arabian tale so many labours to obtain. For our breakfast Colonel Raper had sent the usual requisites, but the " Maha-Rannee," or " Majee," (lady mother) as she is also called, sent us some specimens of Hindoo cookery, abundant in ghee, spice, and sugar, but without the garlic which forms so essential a part of Mussulman luxury. I tasted one of the messes, which was of rice, raisins, and some green sweetmeat, strongly scented with rose-water and seasoned with cinnamon, and thought it very good. The others were, apparently, kid or mutton minced small with rice and covered with a very rich brown sauce, " a thing to dream of, not to tell," and which if eaten at night one should scarcely fail to dream of.

After breakfast, and till the hour of durbar arrived, we visited more of the buildings. In passing along the garden wall, I ought to have observed before, we were shewn five or six elephants in training for a fight. Each was separately kept in a small paved court, with a little litter, but very dirty. They were all what is called " must," that is, fed on stimulating substances to make them furious, and all shewed in their eyes, their gaping mouths, and the constant motion of their trunks, signs of fever and restlessness. Their mohouts seemed to approach them with great caution, and on hearing a step they turned round as far as their chains would allow and lashed fiercely with their trunks. I was moved and disgusted at the sight of so noble creatures thus maddened and diseased by the absurd cruelty of man, in order that they might for his diversion inflict fresh pain and injuries on each other. Two of them were very large, and all sleek and corpulent.

The other apartments through which we were conducted nearly resembled those we had seen before breakfast. We had, however, a noble panoramic view of the town from the top of the

palace. Indeed I have seen few places of which a finer panorama might be made. From thence we returned to a lower court, in the centre of which, raised by a few steps, is a noble open pavilion, with marble pillars richly carved, rather inferior in size, but in other respects fully equal to the hall of audience in the castle of Delhi. The interior contains an oblong vaulted hall, surrounded by a very spacious verandah, and its pavement covered with sitringees and carpets, where we found all the ministers whom I have already mentioned, and some others, seated in a simi-circle. They rose to receive us, and the " Mouchtar," or prime minister, introduced to me those whom I had not yet met. Among these were the " Gooroo," or spiritual adviser of the Rannee, a man extremely blamed for all the outrageous and absurd conduct which she has pursued, and a very remarkable person at whom Colonel Raper looked with some surprise, and whom, he afterwards said, he had never seen or heard of before. He was apparently a Mussulman, a very tall hard-featured man, with a dark and gloomy expression of face, which made me think of Captain Rolando in Gil Blas. His name I did not perfectly hear, but in conversation they called him the Nawâb. He was armed with a sword, shield, and dagger, all splendid in their way; his clothes were handsome but plain, and his whole figure and equipment made me set him down, I believe correctly, as a Patan mercenary leader, for whom these troublesome times had obtained employment. The Mouchtar I had now a better opportunity of observing than before. He is a shortish man, but very stoutly built, with what I thought a good countenance and frank rough manners.

A very formal old gentleman, the marshal of the palace, now got us all to our seats. Colonel Raper in the middle, myself at his right-hand, and the minister and the Nawâb beyond me; the rest were arranged on the left and behind us. We sat cross-legged on the carpet, there being no chairs, and kept our hats on; I was mortified to find that the Rannee never appeared even behind the Purdah, though we were told she was looking through a lat-

ticed window at some distance in front. The usual questions, of how I liked Jyepoor, whither I was going, and when I left Calcutta, followed. The Nawâb talked a good deal, and seemed to be doing his best to make a favourable impression on the Resident. I doubt whether he succeeded. For my own part the idea of Captain Rolando faded away, and was replaced by that of the bold Alsatian Captain Cullpepper. Some dancing-girls came in, whose performances differed in no respect from those which I had seen at Bullumghur. Some very common looking shawls, a turban, necklace, &c. were now brought in as presents from the Rannee to me, which were followed by two horses and an elephant, of which she also requested my acceptance. I looked round on Colonel Raper in some embarrassment, which he relieved by telling me that all was done according to rule, and that I should not be much the richer nor the Rannee the poorer for what passed that day. I of course, however, expressed my thanks to the Mouchtar in as good Hindoostanee as I was able. Mutual wishes were expressed for health, happiness, and a continuance of friendship between the Company and the Court of Jyepoor, and after embracing all the ministers a second time, we took our leave, mounted our elephants, and returned to the Residency, the Rannee's presents going in procession before us. Of these presents it appeared that the elephant was lame, and so vicious that few people ventured to go near him. One of the horses was a very pretty black, but he also turned out as lame as a cat, while the other horse was in poor condition, and, at least, as my people declared, thirty years old. Colonel Raper said, however, that these animals would do more than cover the fees which it would be proper to pay the Rannee's servants, and which the Company, according to the usual practice, would discharge for me. In fact the native powers understand perfectly well that presents of any great value are, on these occasions, thrown away. They have it published in the "Acbars," or native newspapers, that such or such a distinguished personage came to pay his respects at the Court of Jyepoor, and that the Rannee testified

her pleasure at his arrival, by the gift of an elephant, two beautiful horses, and two trays of ornaments and shawls, and thus the ends are answered of making known the rank of the visitant, of setting forth the Rannee's liberality, and above all, of hinting to her subjects and neighbours the good terms she is on with the British Government. But all these objects they are, of course, glad to obtain at as slight an expense as possible.

In the course of this day I had a good deal of conversation with Colonel Raper on the history and intrigues of this little court, the splendour of which had surprised me; but which in its morals and political wisdom appears to be on a level not much higher than that of Abyssinia.

The Rajas of Jyepoor were for a long time the most wealthy and powerful of all the Rajpoot states. Their territory is still the largest, and their revenue used to be reckoned at a crore of rupees (at the present rate of exchange less than a million pounds sterling) annually. They were generally on pretty good terms with the Emperors of Delhi, and though nominally vassals, they always preserved a state of real independance of their authority. The Maharatta conquests blighted all their prosperity; the Raja was so much weakened as to lose all authority over his own Thakoors, twenty or thirty lacks was the whole amount of his revenue, and this was growing less under the almost annual scourge of the Pindarries, of Jeswunt Row Holcar, and, above all, of his General Ameer Khân. Even before the conquest of Lord Hastings, the late Raja of Jyepoor had, as it is said, shewn great anxiety to obtain the protection of Britain, but from the jarring members of which his state is composed, it was one of the last which in any regular way acceded to the confederacy, the Thakoors keeping close in their castles like feudal chiefs, alike averse to any interference either of our Government or their own, and chiefly occupied in making war on each other, leading plundering parties into the neighbouring states, and picking the bones which more potent devourers left behind. The principality was, in fact, in a state of anarchy as wretched and as

bloody as Circassia at the present day, or England in the time of Ivanhoe, with the additional misery that foreign invaders were added to domestic feudal tyrants. This anarchy has never yet been completely put a stop to in the remoter provinces, but it had in the greater part of the kingdom been materially abated by British arms and influence. The country had become safe to travel through, the peasants slept in their beds in peace, the Thakoors began to come to court again and pay their tribute, and the revenue had greatly improved, when the Raja died, five or six years ago, leaving no son, but one of his wives pregnant and near the time of her delivery. This at least was said, though many of the Thakoors declared it was an imposition. A child, however, was produced, and its reputed mother became regent, chiefly by the influence of a man of high rank and respectable character, who is generally known by his hereditary title of "Rawul," and who possessed in a great degree the confidence of the English Government. He became Minister under the Regent, and the improvement of the country continued progressive. He, however, paid his nominal mistress but little deference, and she soon forgot the protection which he had afforded to herself and her son. Nor was this all. The Rawul had the misfortune to find out an intrigue between one of the Rannees and an adventurer from Rohilcund who filled some post about the palace. He banished the paramour, and the lady never forgave him but has ever since been urging the Ma-jee to the most violent measures against him, in which she has been backed by the Gooroo, a very profligate Brahmin, who has always used his influence with the Ma-jee to bad purposes. Two years ago an attempt was made to get rid of the Rawul and bring in the present Minister, a Thakoor of extremely bad character, who had been very recently in open rebellion and had stood a siege against a British force. Against his appointment, however, the British Government strongly remonstrated. The Rawul was maintained in his place and his opponent banished, till the evil reports which prevailed last year in all these provinces respecting

the situation of our empire, encouraged the Rannee to venture on the object which she had at heart. Her first step was to attack, with an armed force, the house of the Rawul in Jyepoor, and he very narrowly escaped with his life to the Residency. She then got together a considerable number of troops, put the city in a state of defence, and assumed so martial an air, that Colonel Raper, with his small force of sepoys, his wife and children, and his friend the Rawul, found it necessary to retreat from the Residency to a position near Bancrote, about nine miles from Jyepoor. The Ma-jee seemed fully bent on carrying matters to the utmost length; she invited over her favourite, then living at Agra, and treated with much contempt the proposal made her by the Resident, that she should be at liberty to name any minister but that one who was so personally obnoxious. She found, however, that her force was less than she probably expected. The majority of the Thakoors were not so fond either of her or the new minister as to run any risk for either: many were personally attached to the Rawul, and, had they been encouraged, would have joined Colonel Raper's camp. The ill reports from Calcutta died away, and none of the neighbouring Rajpoot principalities appeared inclined to side with her, while the occupation of Mhow by the Bombay troops, placed a considerable addition of force at Sir David Ochterlony's disposal, and old Ameer Khân, who, though shorn of his ancient power, still occupies a considerable jaghire south of Neemuch, made an eager offer of his services to the British Government to invade a country with which, as the hoary ruffian truly said, "he was well acquainted!" Colonel Raper, accordingly, did not think that she either could or would have continued to hold out; but Sir David Ochterlony, probably in consequence of directions from Calcutta, thought it best to give up all the points in dispute, rather than run the risk of a new war in Western and Central India. The Rawul retired to his estates and castles, and the Rannee, with her new minister, is permitted to try and govern the country, a task which she will probably soon be found unequal to, the

favourite being, though a man of courage, of no character or talent, and the Rannee as ignorant and passionate as a child. She is now about thirty years old, of humble extraction, was not the principal wife of the late Raja, and had no children in the former years of her marriage. Under such circumstances it is probable that a short time ago a civil war would have arisen in Jyepoor, and it is certain that, in such an event, the Maharattas would not have been slow to take further advantage of their troubles. The chance now is, that the British will be called on to mediate between the parties; but before this takes place some further mischief may be looked for. During the late scenes of intrigue and confusion, the Rannee's confidential Gooroo made a journey to Agra and Delhi, and Colonel Raper has ascertained that he drew large sums from his mistress, with the avowed object of bribing the principal servants of the Company to favour her wishes. It is most probable, Colonel Raper thinks, that this crafty Brahmin put all the money into his own pocket; but, from what I have heard of the practices of the moonshees of public men, I cannot help suspecting that some of it, at least, has redounded to their advantage. At all events, it is painful to find that the natives of this country continue to think us venal.

*January* 30.—I read prayers and preached at the Residency, and christened Colonel Raper's little girl.

*January* 31.—I went this morning with Colonel Raper and Dr. Simpson, the Residency Surgeon, who, with Mrs. Raper, are the only European residents in Jyepoor, to Umeer, the ancient capital of this principality till Jye Singh built the present city in the plain. We passed through the principal streets of Jyepoor, being joined at the palace gate by two of the ministers whom I had met there the Saturday before, and one of whom was Killedar of the place which we were going to visit. The Rajpoots are not such shewy figures on horseback as the Mussulmans, or even the Jâts; these men rode well, however, and had fine horses, which, with their long red shawls, sabres, and flowing robes, as well as their numerous attendants, made up a striking picture.

We passed together through the opposite gate of the city, the uniformity of which throughout is very striking. My companions told me that it was laid out in quarters, or wards, according to the rules of the Shaster; one being for the Thakoors, another for the Brahmins, a third for the ordinary Rajpoots, a fourth for the caste of Kayts, or writers, a fifth for the Bunyans, or traders, and a sixth for the Gaowalas, or cow-keepers, while the seventh is occupied by the palace. After leaving the city we proceeded by a wide sandy road, through a succession of gardens and garden-houses, some of the latter of which were very handsome, to the banks of a large lake, covered with water-fowl, and with a small island in the midst on which were the ruins of a palace. The mere supplies the stream which we had passed in our way up the ghât; it has on this side every appearance of being a natural sheet of water; its banks are more woody and wild than any thing which I had seen since I left Kemaoon, and the steep and rugged road by which we ascended the hill beyond it, contributed to raise my expectation of a beautiful view from the top.

This road led us through an ancient gate-way in an embattled and turretted wall which connected the two hills, like that which I described on the other side of Jyepoor, and within we found a street like that also, of temples and old buildings of the same character, one of which was pointed out to me as a shrine whither the young Raja is carried weekly to pay his devotions, and another as the house where he puts up his horses and reposes on such occasions. Beyond was a still steeper ascent to a second gate, which introduced us to a very wild and romantic valley, with a small lake at the bottom,—the crests of the hills on either side crowned with walls and towers, their lower parts all rock and wood interspersed with ruined buildings, in front, and on the margin of the lake, a small ruinous town, overgrown with trees, and intermingled with towers and temples, and over it, but a little to the left hand, a noble old fortified palace, connected by a long line of wall and tower with a very large castle on the highest part of the hill. We now

descended the ghât by a similar road to that which had conducted us thither, among some fine old trees, fragments of rock, and thickets of thorny underwood, till we reached the town which almost entirely consisted of temples, and had few inhabitants but grim and ghastly Yogis, with their hair in elf-knots and their faces covered with chalk, sitting naked and hideous, like so many ghoules, amid the tombs and ruined houses. A narrow winding street led us through these abodes of superstition, under a dark shade of peepul-trees, till we found ourselves on another steep ascent paved with granite and leading to the palace. We wound along the face of the hill, through, I think, three gothic gateways, alighted in a large moss-grown quadrangle surrounded by what seemed to be barracks and stables, and followed our guides up a broad and long flight of steps, through another richly ornamented gateway, into the interior courts of the building, which contain one very noble hall of audience, a pretty little garden with fountains, and a long succession of passages, cloisters, alcoves, and small and intricate apartments, many of them extremely beautiful, and enjoying from their windows, balconies, and terraces, one of the most striking prospects which can be conceived. The carving in stone and marble, and the inlaid flowers and ornaments in some of these apartments, are equal to those at Delhi and Agra, and only surpassed by the beauties of the Tage-mahal. My companions, none of whom had visited Umeer before, all declared that, as a whole, it was superior to the castle of Delhi. For myself, I have seen many royal palaces containing larger and more stately rooms, —many, the architecture of which was in a purer taste, and some which have covered a greater extent of ground, (though in *this*, if the fortress on the hill be included, Umeer will rank, I think, above Windsor,)—but for varied and picturesque effect, for richness of carving, for wild beauty of situation, for the number and romantic singularity of the apartments, and the strangeness of finding such a building in such a place and country, I am able to compare nothing with Umeer ; and this, too, was the work of Jye Singh !

The ornaments are in the same style, though in a better taste, than those of his palace at Jyepoor, and the size and number of the apartments are also similar. A greater use has been made of stained glass here, or else, from the inaccessible height of the window, the glass has remained in better preservation. The building is in good repair, but has a solitary and deserted aspect; and as our guide, with his bunch of keys, unlocked one iron-clenched door after another, and led us over terraces and up towers, down steep, dark, sloping passages, and through a long succession of little silent courts, and dim vaulted chambers, seen only through coloured glass, and made more gorgeously gloomy by their carving, gilding, and mirrors, the idea of an enchanted castle occurred, I believe, to us all; and I could not help thinking what magnificent use Ariosto or Sir Walter Scott would have made of such a building. After all we saw only part of it. Higher up the hill was another grim-looking ward, with few external windows, but three or four elegantly carved kiosks projecting from its roof, and a few cypresses peeping over its walls, which they said was the zennana, and not allowed to be seen; and above this again, but communicating by a succession of gates and turrets, was the castle which I have mentioned, grimmer and darker still, with high towers and machicollated battlements, with a very few ornamented windows, many narrow loop-holes, and one tall minaret rising above the whole cluster. The interior of this, of course, was not shewn; indeed, it is what the government of Jyepoor considers as their last resource. The public treasure used to be laid up here; and here, it is said, are many state prisoners, whose number is likely to be increased if the present rule continues.

On returning to the stable-yard, our conductor asked us if we wished to see the temple? I answered of course "any thing more that was to be seen," and he turned short and led us some little distance up the citadel, then through a dark low arch into a small court, where, to my surprise, the first object which met my eyes was a pool of blood on the pavement, by which a naked man

stood with a bloody sword in his hand. The scenes through which we had passed were so romantic, that my fancy had almost been wound up to expect an adventure, and I felt, I confess, for an instant my hand instinctively clench more firmly a heavy Hindoostanee whip I had with me, the butt end of which would, as a last resource, have been no despicable weapon. The guide, however, at the same instant, cautioned me against treading in the blood, and told me that a goat was sacrificed here every morning. In fact a second glance shewed me the headless body of the poor animal lying before the steps of a small shrine, apparently of Kali. The brahmin was officiating and tinkling his bell, but it was plain to see, from the embarrassment of our guide, that we had intruded at an unlucky moment, and we therefore merely cast our eyes round the court without going nearer to the altar and its mysteries. The guide told us in our way back that the tradition was that, in ancient times, a man was sacrificed here every day; that the custom had been laid aside till Jye Singh had a frightful dream, in which the destroying power appeared to him and asked him why her image was suffered to be dry? The Raja, afraid to disobey, and reluctant to fulfil the requisition to its ancient extent of horror, took counsel and substituted a goat for the human victim, with which the

> Dark goddess of the azure flood,
>   Whose robes are wet with infant tears,
> Scull-chaplet wearer, whom the blood
>   Of man delights three thousand years,

was graciously pleased to be contented.

We were now taken down the hill, outside the fortifications, to some baths and summer-houses on the banks of the lake, which I should have thought pretty if they had not been much inferior to what I had already seen, and we crossed the lake by a narrow bridge, from the further end of which I made an attempt to sketch the view. Here our horses met us, and we returned home all highly gratified, and myself not a little surprised that a place

so curious and interesting should be so little known, not merely in Europe but in India.

In the course of our homeward ride Colonel Raper told me that he had had unpleasant news from the palace. The Rannee the night before, without trial, or without so much as assigning a reason, murdered one of her female attendants,—a woman who bore a fair character, was possessed of considerable wealth, and believed, till lately, to stand high in her mistress's confidence and good graces. Her wealth was supposed to be her only crime. A great alarm had in consequence been excited in the zennana and in the city; and eight other women, chiefly wives and concubines of the late Raja, believed themselves also marked out for destruction. This atrocity had been perpetrated by the Rannee's own order and in her presence, but Colonel Raper said if the Mouchtar had been himself any thing but a mere ruffian, he would never allow such practices to go on, nor would such an order have been executed had he been a likely person to resent it.

With this story on my mind it was with any thing rather than a pleasurable sensation, that I received in the course of the morning a present of fruit, sweetmeats, and flowers, with the Ma-jee's best wishes for my safe journey, her assurance that her people had arranged every thing for my comfort on the road, and her hope that our friendship might long continue! I sent back my grateful acknowledgments, which was no more than her due, for the kindness and hospitality she had shewn me, and an assurance of my prayers, though I did not add, for her amendment. I found to-day that her attentions had not been confined to me personally, but that she had sent an excellent dinner of sweetmeats, ghee, rice, kid, flour, and other Hindoostanee dainties, sufficient, as they told me, for 100 men, to be divided amongst my servants and escort.

I had intended to proceed the first stage, which is only eight miles, this afternoon, but was prevented by seven of my bearers taking fright at the reports they heard of the country to the south-

west, and running off this morning. Seven more were pressed by Government order to go with me as far as Nusseerabad, and I told them that, notwithstanding the manner in which their services were compelled, I should give them the usual pay for the journey. I now hoped at all events to get away on Tuesday the 1st of February, but was again prevented by a very dismal and unexpected accident. A little before five in the morning, the servants came to me for directions and to say that the good careful old soubahdar was very ill and unable to leave his tent. I immediately put on my clothes and went down to the camp, in my way to which they told me that he had been taken unwell at night, and that Dr. Smith had given him medicine. They had none of them, however, seen him since. I therefore wakened Dr. Smith to ask him what was the matter, and was informed that his illness was slight, and that he would be able to set off at his usual time. I thought it best to go to his tent, and ask him how he was, to which he answered that he felt well. I told him, however, that he had better remain quiet, and that his tent and bed might perfectly well go on in the course of the day. He answered in his usual manner, "Ucha, ghureeb-purwar," and I left him to see the camels loaded, and to give directions about the manner in which I wished the tents to be pitched at our next stage. Shortly after seeing that there was some bustle in packing near his tent, I went up to bid the people make less noise, on which they told me they were acting by his orders, and that he had got up and gone to the other side of the camp, leaving directions to have his poney saddled. I was walking away to finish my own dressing when a man came running to say that the soubahdar was dying. As he was returning to his tent he had fallen down, and I found him in the arms of two of his men, apparently in a swoon, but making a faint moaning noise. I made them loosen the cloth which was wrapped round his head and throat, and bid them sprinkle his face with water, while I ran for Dr. Smith, who had been already alarmed and came immediately. He opened a vein, and, with much humane patience, continued

to try different remedies while any chance remained; but no blood flowed, and no sign of life could be detected from the time of his coming up, except a feeble flutter at the heart which soon ceased. He was at an advanced age, at least for an Indian, though apparently hale and robust. I felt it a comfort that I had not urged him to any exertion, and that in fact I had endeavoured to persuade him to lie still till he was quite well. But I was necessarily much shocked by the sudden end of one who had travelled with me so far, and whose conduct had, in every instance, given me satisfaction. I really felt a kindness for him, founded not only on his quiet pleasing manners, but his attention to his duty and the confidence which I could always place on his word. And it was my intention to recommend him for promotion as earnestly as I could to his Colonel. Nor, while writing this, can I recollect without a real pang his calm countenance and grey hairs, as he sate in his tent door telling his beads in an afternoon, or walked with me, as he seldom failed to do, through the villages on an evening, with his own silver-hilted sabre under his arm, his loose cotton mantle folded round him, and his golden necklace and Rajpoot string just visible above it. Nobody knew him to be ill during the preceding day till just before bed-time. He had been with Abdullah and Cashiram to the city, to see a pair of shawls of which I meant to make him a present on our arrival at Nusseerabad, that being the usual or, at least, the most gratifying return which a sepoy officer can receive, and had been extremely delighted with the knowledge of my intention. He was of Rajpoot caste, and his name was Jye Singh, two circumstances which made a strong impression on the minds of his comrades, who said "it was a strange thing that he had just happened to die in Jye Singh's city, and on his return after so many years absence to Rajpootana." He left two sons, and a woman who was really his wife and universally so considered, but who being of an inferior caste could not be regularly joined to him by the Brahminical rites,—a circumstance which I rejoiced to hear, as it put the burning herself out of the question.

He had left her and his boys at Seetapoor, but expected to meet them at Nusseerabad. Alas! how nearly had he arrived at the place where he looked forwards to a reunion with those whom he loved! His body was burnt in the course of the day, and I had an inventory made of his goods. This is the second death, and the fourth separation from illness which I have had to regret since the commencement of my journey.

The death of the poor soubahdar led to the question whether there would be still time to send on the baggage. All the Mussulmans pressed our immediate departure, while the Hindoos begged that they might be allowed to stay, at least, till sun-set. The reasons urged on both sides were very characteristic. The former pleading that the *place* was "unlucky," and that it was best to get out of it as soon as possible; the other that the *day* was unlucky, not only from the melancholy omen which had already occurred, but from its being Tuesday, which the votaries of Brahma regard as unpropitious for the commencement of any enterprise. I determined on remaining, not only as, in my opinion, more decent and respectful to the memory of a good and aged officer, but because the things being already packed up and ready to put on the camels, it would be easy to send them off at midnight and run the two first stages towards Nusseerabad into one. I ordered therefore the men to unload their camels, many of whom had received their burthens; and my determination to remain was welcomed with the kindest hospitality by Colonel Raper, and with much joy by the Hindoo part of the establishment. During my stay at Jyepoor, Dr. Smith amputated the hand of the poor brahmin, who had followed us from Mowah, and he was left in the care of the residency surgeon.

*February* 2.—We set off at half-past five this morning; Colonel Raper went with me on his elephant as far as Bancroty, and I thence rode the remaining ten miles to Buggeroo, which I found rather a pretty place surrounded with groves of the tara-palm, a rare sight in these inhospitable plains. Yet a great part

of the soil which I went over in the course of the day is not bad, and the water is every where near the surface. I asked one of my attendants why there was no cultivation? and he ascribed it first, to the effects of the former troubles, during which no man dared plough; secondly, to the late drought, which had put a stop to all the improvements which had since been commenced. I got this information through an interpreter, for I had discovered before that the language of the Rajpoots is extremely different from the Hindoostanee. It is, I apprehend, much nearer the Sanscrit, but even in the words which are common to them and their neighbours, their thick pronunciation, making the "s" into "sh," or "dj," makes it very difficult for one who is not a proficient to catch their meaning.

The events of the morning proved that Colonel Raper's remonstrance on the previous misconduct of the vakeel and suwarrs had produced its proper effect. The escort now sent with me were very attentive to their duty, and evidently picked men; indeed I have seldom seen finer or taller young fellows than they most of them were. Their horses and arms likewise were good and in good order, but their clothes extremely ragged and dirty, and their wild riding, their noisy whooping and hallooing, and the air of perfect equality with which they were disposed to treat us, were remarkably contrasted with the profound respect, the soldierly calmness, and handsome equipments of Skinner's cavaliers. I was, indeed, prepared to expect a much greater simplicity and homeliness of manner in the Rajpoots and tribes of Central India, than in those who had been subjects of the Mogul empire, and, even at the court of Jyepoor, I was struck with the absence of that sort of polish which had been apparent at Lucknow and Delhi. The Hindoos seem every where, when left to themselves and under their own sovereigns, a people of simple tastes and tempers, inclined to frugality, and indifferent to show and form. The subjects of even the greatest Maharatta prince sit down without scruple in his presence, and no trace is to be found in their conver-

sation of those adulatory terms which the Mussulmans introduced into the northern and eastern provinces. Europeans too are very little known here, and I heard the children continually calling out to us as we passed through the villages, "Feringee, ue Feringee!" It was whimsical, however, and in apparent contrast with this plainness of speech, that the term "Maharaja," or Sovereign, is applied by them to almost every superior. "Salam Maharaja!" was addressed to me ten or twelve times in the day by passengers whom I met on the road, and my escort, though riding side by side with us, and laughing heartily at our inefficient attempts to make them understand us, never spoke to me without this title.

During the afternoon an alarm reached us of robbers in our morrow's march. Some tradesmen coming to Jyepoor the day before had been plundered, and, as was said, some of them killed, and the country people and travellers in general were afraid to pursue the usual road. The number of these marauders was so variously stated that nothing could be ascertained, varying from one hundred to ten or twelve. We prepared ourselves for meeting them. The breakfast tent and dâk-horses were sent on, together with double the usual detachment of sepoys and all the Rannee's suwarrs, amounting to a dozen, who, wild and unsoldierly as was their appearance, were yet very likely to behave well in case of need. Thirty sepoys formed our main body, and five our rear-guard, while I directed Skinner's men to remain with Dr. Smith and me, and arranged so as to keep our parties within a moderate distance of each other. Our whole numbers were likewise prepared for action, the sepoys ordered to be primed and loaded, and the horsemen to have lighted matches. Abdullah, with much gravity, brought my own pistols, observing that this was a country where all who possessed arms should carry them. I had, however, very little fear that any of these warlike preparations would end in bloodshed, and was indeed chiefly induced to make them from the conviction that the robbers, if there were any in the neighbourhood, were well informed

of all our movements, and that they would be little disposed to attack us when they knew we were on our guard. Meantime I was surprised to find how the number of the camp followers had increased. Dr. Smith saw in the course of the evening two men fighting with their fists, an unusual sight in India, and on enquiring into the cause, was informed that they were pilgrims going to Agmere, who had taken advantage of the protection afforded by our caravan, and had followed it with their wives and families all the way from Meerut. And now at least a dozen, I had nearly said twenty, country people, women and children, came up, who had been detained on the road by fear of the plunderers, and hoped to get past safely in my train. In this hope they were not disappointed.

Next morning, February the 3d, we performed our march in much peace, through a very wild and desolate country, overgrown with brush-wood and long grass, but on these accounts less dismal to the eye than the tracts of naked sterility which we had lately traversed. We passed two ruined forts, round one was still a village, and adjoining to it a large encampment of Gypsies.

I endeavoured to learn some particulars of the recent fray, but did not succeed in any considerable degree. It seemed agreed that a good deal of money and silver ornaments had been taken from the traders; that these last made no resistance, but that, notwithstanding, several of them were beaten as well as stripped, but it was not true that any had been killed. The robbery had taken place between these two villages, in the wild country which I have mentioned, but who the assailants were, how many, and whence they came, nobody seemed to know.

After a ride of seven coss we arrived at Mouzabad, another rather large town, with a ruined wall, a mosque, some good gardens, and several temples. The largest of these was called by the Rannee's suwarr, "Bunyan ka Mandur," the Trader's Temple, belonging to the sect of Jains of whom I gave an account from Benares, and who are numerous in all the west of India, where

they nearly engross the internal traffic of the country. This building was externally richly carved, and appeared, like that which I had seen at Benares, to contain several apartments; but we were not permitted to see the inside, though the suwarrs, without scruple, took us into the court, and up to the terraced roof, walking with their shoes on, in high contempt (as became the Rajpoot "children of the sun,") both of the tradesmen and their deity. I have no doubt that they would, at a word speaking, have made a way for us to the very sanctuary; but as the Jains seemed evidently in pain, and anxious that we should go no further, I thought it both uncivil and inhuman to press the point. A small but richly-carved dome rises in the centre of this building, and beyond this again and, as I conceive, immediately over the image of Painnâth, three high pyramids of carved stone are raised like those of the principal temples in Benares.

*February* 4.—From Mouzabad we went to Hirsowlee, six coss, over a country little different from what we had traversed since Jyepoor, equally level, equally ill cultivated and ill inhabited. Being on my elephant the first part of the way, I saw to my right hand at the distance of seven or eight miles, a large piece of water which I supposed to be a part of the celebrated salt lake of Sambur, which supplies all northern and western Hindostan with that necessary. I could not positively ascertain the fact, however, at the time, because I had no natives of the country near me, being attended by Skinner's suwarrs. I asked the Rannee's people when we came up with them, but could only learn that they had not seen it, which on horseback they certainly could not do, and that it lay several coss out of our way. Our own course was evidently not a direct one, and I ascertained the cause to be that the Rannee's people were obliged to take us to those places only where there were crown lands, or where the Thakoors were disposed to respect her authority. Of these gentry we had met several within these few days, generally seated in covered carts drawn by white oxen with gilt

horns, and escorted by men armed with matchlocks and sabres. They saluted us courteously as we passed, but did not shew any desire to enter into conversation.

We had to-day also a proof, which I did not expect, that the government of Jyepoor was not quite without an army, since we met three sepoys who said they were in the Rannee's pay, and that there were three battalions of them. They were in scarlet uniforms, so exactly like those of the Company's army that I should have had no doubt, had they not told us the contrary, that they really belonged to it. One of the suwarrs spoke very unfavourably of the Rannee's service. His pay, he said, was only four rupees and a half per month, and even this pittance was often several months in arrear. He made shift, he said, to support himself, but his wife and children at home were starving. Dr. Smith asked him if he should have preferred the Company's service, to which he replied that it was a very good service, the best in India, but that he could not endure the strictness of the discipline, and above all the corporal punishment. None of his race, he said, could endure a blow. He who spoke this was a Patan from Rohilcund, but most of our other men were Rajpoots, distinguished by their strings and their badges of gilt metal, a sun and a man on horseback, which they wore round their necks in memory of their great ancestor the "radiant Surya," or Apollo.

Dr. Smith, in the course of the day, gave these poor fellows what they considered a great treat, that is, a lump of Malwah opium. All the Rajpoots indulge in this practice, and many to a great excess, but as the remainder of their food is so simple, and they touch no other stimulant of any kind, it of course does them less harm than Europeans. Our Rajpoot escort had now got into so high good humour with us, that nothing could surpass their attention and attendance, and though their style of attention was very different from the polished and profound respect of the Hindoostanees, it had so much apparent cordiality in it that I began to be much pleased with them. They reminded me of the

Tchernoymorsky Cossacks. They are certainly a fine-looking people, and their complexion the fairest that I have seen in India.

We walked at night about the town, which has a mud wall and fortress, with a very deep ditch. The bazar is large, but the principal object worth seeing is, as usual, the Jain temple. We were amused by the sight of a splendid nuptial procession, on account of the betrothal of the son of a neighbouring Raja to the daughter of a Thakoor. The little boy passed on an elephant, with a long array of kettle-drums, trumpets, and standards before him, as well as a very handsome palanqueen, in which two brothers, still younger than himself, were conveyed. In his passage through the streets of the town fire-works were let off at intervals, and all the roofs of the houses, as well as the ramparts of the fort, were covered with spectators. The towns-people were very civil in securing us a good place, and seemed pleased with the interest which I felt in the show, and with my wishing the little bridegroom "good luck." They told me that he was to be taken for that evening to the house of his new father-in-law, where the ceremony of affiancing took place, but that he and the little girl were to remain for some years with their respective parents, when the second and real marriage would be celebrated.

In the evening I took leave of the vakeel, who, before he went, delivered a long message from the Rannee, expressive of her earnest desire that I would stand her friend with Government, and in which she sought to justify herself for her conduct in removing the Rawul and employing the present minister. She was anxious that I should take charge of a letter from herself to Lord Amherst, and her messenger dwelt much on her great desire to have peace, and on the frauds and peculations of which, as she should be able to prove, the Rawul had been guilty. I told the vakeel that the Maharannee might depend on it, that the British Government had not the least desire, so long as she lived in peace, and governed her subjects mildly and justly, to diminish her authority, or lessen her son's territory. That I did not think such a letter as she wished

me to take charge of could be of any use to her, as it was the custom of British governors to settle all matters of State in "Sudder;" (council) and before Lord Amherst could read her letter, it must be translated, and by thus becoming public might do her injury, as giving offence to Sir David Ochterlony and Colonel Raper. That she might depend on having any paper which she chose to send through those two officers duly laid before Government; and that she had better draw up as strong a memorial as she could for that purpose. But in return for the civilities which I had received from her, and the confidence she had reposed in me, I begged leave to offer two pieces of advice: First, I had heard that she had laid out a great deal of money among different sahibs and their servants, in order to gain their friendship and interest. I assured her that she was imposed on if she did so; that the probability was that the sahibs knew nothing of the matter, and that she was only enriching their moonshees; but that, above all, there was no sahib at Agra, Delhi, or elsewhere, except Colonel Raper and Sir David Ochterlony, whose friendship and interest could be of any use to her. Secondly, I observed, that I had been informed she had ordered one of her female attendants to be put to death without a regular trial, and that others were in fear of their lives. I earnestly urged the vakeel to tell her that there was nothing which could do her so much harm as these rash and violent proceedings, since there was nothing which shocked the English so much. That if her servants did any thing worthy of death, it was good to bring them to open trial according to the Hindoo law, and before the usual magistrates; and that it was desirable at this time, to prevent slanderous reports, that whenever sentence of death was lawfully pronounced, her Mooktar should state the circumstances of the case to the Resident. I was then asked if, when I returned to Calcutta, I would allow her vakeel there to visit me and consult me about her affairs; to which I answered that I should be always glad to hear of her prosperity; and I said also that when I next wrote to Lord Amherst, I would inform him of the kindness and attention with

which she had treated me. I concluded with again advising her to place confidence in Sir D. Ochterlony and Colonel Raper, and to do her utmost to secure their favourable opinions. Having thus sent her the best advice I could, I gave the vakeel his present and certificate of good behaviour. I had been so much dissatisfied with him in the former part of the march that, I believe, he had very faint expectations of either one or the other; so that nothing could be more profound than his bows and professions of service in taking leave.

*February* 5.—The horsemen attended me next morning as far as Bandursindree, a small and poor town in the little principality of Kishenghur, where we found some servants whom Mr. Moore, the Resident at Ajmere, had sent to receive me, and the jemautdar of the village, who said he had orders from the Raja to provide every thing for me.—From Bandursindree to Kishenghur was, I found, not more than eight miles, and as we had only come a very short stage this day, and as time was precious with me, I made arrangements for proceeding to Kishenghur on the Sunday. Had I been able to obtain good information of the road, I should have gone through, this day, the whole distance from Hirsowlee. I here dismissed my Jyepoor bearers, having received a powerful reinforcement from Government, through the kindness of Captain Burns, head of the commissariat of Nusseerabad, who, having heard of the desertion of my people at Jyepoor, forwarded twenty men to meet me. At Nusseerabad no ordinary bearers are to be hired, but the commissariat keep forty or fifty in their pay for Government service; and the letters which Government had written concerning me, directed them to supply me with every assistance and comfort in their power.

*February* 6.—From Bandursindree we went between four and five coss to Kishenghur. The country half-way continued open and barren. Afterwards, without ceasing to be barren, it was a good deal covered by thorny trees; and at length we ascended a

rugged chain of granite hills which brought us to Kishenghur, with its walls of solid and substantial masonry, its castle on the mountain top, and its gardens fenced with hedges of prickly pear,—the whole something like Jyepoor in miniature.— The tents were pitched in a stony and dusty plain, but in rather a pretty situation without the walls, and enjoying a view of the Raja's palace, a large but rudely built fort on the banks of a fine pool of water, with a margin of green corn-fields, and a back-ground of bare and rugged hills. We found nothing ready either for ourselves or for our animals. The people, though civil, would furnish no supplies without the Raja's orders, and he had married a new wife the day before, and nobody dared to apply to him. The promises of payment brought, however, a scanty supply, and soon afterwards, about ten o'clock, a message came from the Raja in Divan, with his order to supply whatever was wanted, and an enquiry whether I wished him to call on me. I returned for answer that I had no design to give him that trouble, and that I intended to call on him at any time in the afternoon that suited him, adding that it was not my custom to go out in the heat of the day, and that I was obliged to leave Kishenghur early in the morning. The messenger said he would bring me word immediately, but never returned, a circumstance which the servants ascribed to the Raja's having by this time dosed himself with opium. The result saved me some trouble, and was only remarkable as being inconsistent with the modesty and civility of the first message. The Raja was described to me as a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six, of a dissipated character; his territory is small and barren, but his expenses must be very trifling except so far as his many relations, for all his clan consider themselves as his kinsmen, are burdensome to him. At night he sent me some guides for our next day's journey, and some coolies whom I did not want; but, to my surprise, did not send an escort which I had asked for the horses, who were to be sent on half-way; he, however, afterwards thought better of it, since when we set out, a dozen horsemen

presented themselves, but too late to be of any service. The corn, in the neigbourhood of Kishenghur, I was sorry to see a good deal blighted, as if with frost after rain. We had had no rain which could have done mischief, and this was the first blight which I had seen in Rajpootana. The soil is very barren, but water is found every where, so that with industry and good fortune plenty may be obtained. On these light soils blight is, I believe, always most fatal.

# CHAPTER XXIII.

AJMERE TO NEEMUCH.

*Ajmere—Remarkable Fortress—Mussulman place of Pilgrimage—Encampment of Brinjarrees—Nusseerabad—Bhâts and Charuns—Captain Todd—Boolees—Bheel manner of fishing—Bheels—Ranah of Oodeypoor—Chittore—Anecdote of Rannee—Marble Tower—Night Blindness.*

February 7.—We marched to Ajmere, about seventeen miles. The country was as barren as ever, but more hilly, and saved from a wearisome uniformity by clusters of thorny trees and thickets of the cactus. Among these we found a considerable number of camels grazing, and were passed by some irregular troops and some sepoys in red, and pretty nearly equipped like those in the company's service, who said they belonged to the Maharaja Sindia. What they could be doing here now that he had ceded all his territories in this neighbourhood and within a hundred miles of it, I could not conjecture. Dr. Smith, who put the question, had forgotten this fact, or would have asked them where they were going, and I, having supposed that they belonged to the company's service, had ridden on before and did not hear the question or reply. They were all infantry; the irregulars had matchlocks, swords, and shields; the regulars only differed from our troops as having, which our men frequently carry when on a journey, sabres in addition to their musquets and bayonets. The cactus or prickly pear grows very strong on these barren hills. Dr. Clarke in his travels through the Holy Land speaks of it as likely in certain latitudes to afford an impenetrable fortification, and I now asked Dr. Smith if it were ever used in the "bound hedge" of an Indian

town. He answered that it was found very easy to cut down either with axe or sabre; and that nothing answered so well as a thick plantation of bamboos, which, though not prickly, are impenetrable, and can be neither burnt nor cut down without great loss of time and risque from the fire of the besieged. The union of the two, as in the fortification of Marapoor, which I have previously mentioned, would seem the best.

I was disappointed in the first view of Ajmere, which I had expected to find a large city, but which is only a well-built, moderate sized town, on the slope of a high hill, or what really deserves the name of mountain. The buildings are chiefly white-washed, and the surrounding rocks have some thorny trees and brushwood on them which hide their barrenness, and make a good background to the little ruinous Mosques and Mussulman tombs, which are scattered round the circuit of this holy city. Above, on the mountain top, is a very remarkable fortress, called Taraghur, nearly two miles in circuit, but, from its irregular shape and surface not capable of containing more than 1200 men. It is, however, a magnificent place of arms in many respects. The rock is in most parts quite inaccessible; it has an abundant supply of good water, in all seasons, from tanks and cisterns cut in the live rock. There are bomb-proofs to a vast extent, and store-houses like wells, where corn, ghee, &c. used to be kept, and, with very little improvement from European skill, it might easily be made a second Gibraltar. It is, however, no part of the policy of the British Government in India to rely on fortresses, and the works are now fast going to decay.

The main attraction of Ajmere in the eyes of its Mussulman visitors, is the tomb of Shekh Kajah Mowûd Deen, a celebrated saint, whose miracles are renowned all over India. The Emperor Acbar, great and wise man as he was, and suspected of placing little faith in the doctrines of Islam, made nevertheless a pilgrimage on foot to this place to implore, at the saint's tomb, the blessing of male offspring. The crowd of pilgrims who met us, or whom we

overtook during the last three or four days, shewed how much the shrine is still in fashion; and in Malwah it is not uncommon for pilgrims who have been at the Ajmere Durgah, to set up a brick or a stone taken from the sanctuary, near their dwelling, and to become saints themselves and have pilgrimages made to them in consequence of such a possession.

Nor are they Mussulmans alone who reverence this tomb. The Sindia family, while masters of Ajmere, were magnificent benefactors to its shrine, and my own sirdar and the goomashta Cashiram were quite as anxious to come hither as if it had been one of their own holy places. I regret that I could not see it, but we were encamped at some distance from the city, and it blew all day long a dry north-wester which filled the air in such a manner with dust as to make going about extremely painful. I sate waiting in my tent in the hope that it might abate towards evening; but it only became bearable as it grew dusk, and the account which I heard of the tomb from Mr. Moore was not such as to lead me to incur any great inconvenience in order to visit it. My servants described it as of white marble, with a great deal of golden and silver ornament; but Mr. Moore said that, though rich, it was neither finely carved nor of any particular curiosity.

The Emperors of Delhi shewed favour in many ways to Ajmere, but in none more than in a noble fresh-water lake which they made just above the city, by damming up the gorge of an extensive valley, and conveying different small rills into it. The result is a fine sheet of water now four miles, and during the rains six miles in circumference, sufficient in industrious hands to give fertility to all the neighbourhood. As it is, it affords the means of irrigation to a large district on its banks, supplies abundance of excellent water to the citizens of Ajmere, is full of fish, and would, if there were any boats, be an excellent place for sailing.

Mr. Moore lives in a small house fitted up out of a summer-house erected by Shah Jehanguire on the very "bund" or dam of this lake, and with its waters beating against the basement. The

building is prettily carved and lined with white marble, but a much meaner edifice would, in such a situation, be delightful. There is no flood-gate in the bund, nor does any water escape that way; whatever is superfluous being diverted right hand and left and employed in agriculture.

Three coss west of Ajmere is a celebrated Hindoo temple named Pokur, which, from the remoteness of its situation from the more populous parts of Hindostan, is an object of much interest and curiosity with people from the east and the Deccan.

My tent was very nearly blown over in the hurricane of to-day, and every thing in it filled with sand, from my bed to my book boxes and ink-stand. But, though longer in duration, the storm was not greater in violence than some which I have seen in Calcutta.

*February* 8.—We proceeded to Nusseerabad, fourteen very long miles, over a sandy and rocky plain, bordered on each side by mountains which would have been picturesque had they had a less bleak and barren fore-ground. The hills are now much improved in size; the little dells and stony plains between their ranges are inhabited by a race of people called Mhairs, nominal Mussulmans but paying no real regard to religion of any kind, and robbers by profession. Brigadier Knox told me that he had on first coming into this district a good deal of trouble with them. Sindia had never been able to tame them; and our troops found much difficulty in following them into their mountain fastnesses. They were brought at length to ask for an audience of the General, and like the Puharrees of Rajmahal, whom they seem greatly to resemble, were easily conciliated on their being promised protection from their lowland neighbours, and obtaining an immunity of their lands from tribute. A corps of light troops has been raised among them to their great delight, and they have been both brave and faithful under British officers. Brigadier Knox apprehends them to be of the same race with the Bheels and the other inhabitants of the mountainous parts of India.

We passed a large encampment of "Brinjarrees," or carriers of grain, a singular wandering race, who pass their whole time in transporting this article from one part of the country to another, seldom on their own account, but as agents for more wealthy dealers. They move about in large bodies with their wives, children, dogs, and loaded bullocks. The men are all armed as a protection against petty thieves. From the sovereigns and armies of Hindostan they have no apprehensions. Even contending armies allow them to pass and repass safely, never taking their goods without purchase, or even preventing them if they choose from victualling their enemy's camp. Both sides wisely agree to respect and encourage a branch of industry, the interruption of which might be attended with fatal consequences to both. How well would it be if a similar liberal feeling prevailed between the belligerents of Europe; and how much is our piratical system of warfare put to shame in this respect by the practice of those whom we call barbarians!

Nusseerabad is a pleasanter place than, from all the bad reports I had heard of it, I had expected. The cantonments are very regular and convenient, the streets of noble width, and there are a sufficient number of stunted parkinsoniæ about the gardens to save the view from that utter nakedness which is usually seen in Rajpootana. Many wells and two or three large tanks have been constructed since the English fixed here, but most of the water is brackish. Garden vegetables thrive well, though the soil is light and the rock is very near the surface, and I have no doubt that the peepul and many other trees would succeed if planted sufficiently thick in the first instance. They would be a great accession to the place, not only for beauty but for shade, for shelter from the bitter winds, and diminishing the quantity of dust which is the chief plague of the station. In contradiction to all I had been previously told, I find that Nusseerabad is, even now, perhaps the healthiest station in India; and the climate is pleasant at all times except during the hot winds. The rains

in this parched land are welcomed as refreshing, and seldom are sufficiently steady to keep people at home a whole day together. The force stationed here is considerable, and I found a more numerous society than I expected in so remote a spot, and which had been represented to me in such gloomy colours. Fruit-trees will not grow here, but they have abundant supplies from Pokur, the place of pilgrimage which I have just mentioned, and which is renowned for its gardens and vineyards. The grapes are by far the best and largest in India, and equal to those of Shiraz. Sindia still retains a house and garden at Pokur; so that it is probable his troops, whom we met the other day, were going to do duty there. The sanctity of the place is renowned all over India, but of its beauty and fertility I had never heard before. The country indeed of Rajpootana, as I was now given to understand, does not increase in sterility in proportion to its approach to the western desert. Captain Sandys, the Quarter Master General of the district, had travelled considerably beyond Joudpoor; and he described the whole province of Marwar as better soil and in a better state of cultivation than either Jyepoor, Ajmere, or Meywar (the south-western tract including Oodeypoor and Neemuch). Marwar, indeed, escaped better during the troubles, as being farther off from the Pindarrees. The wells are very deep, and agriculture therefore expensive. The villages, however, were in a good state, the corn looking well and covering a large surface, and the cotton the finest he had ever seen. The oxen and sheep, also, give evidence of the goodness of their pasture, being the largest and most highly prized in all this part of India. A pair of good Marwar bullocks, fit for drawing a native carriage and trained to trot, will be reckoned cheap at from 150 to 200 rupees, and those of Sind are still dearer.

The castle of Joudpoor, in which the Raja resides, Captain Sandys described as extremely magnificent; and a drawing which he shewed me fully confirmed his statement. It is as large as Windsor, less strikingly situated, and of more simple and solid architecture, but in many respects fully equal to its rival. It is

strange to find such buildings in such a country. In England I should hardly be believed if I said that a petty Raja in the neighbourhood of the salt desert had a palace little less, or less magnificent than Windsor.

During my stay at Nusseerabad I was the guest of Brigadier Knox, the oldest cavalry officer now in India, and who has not seen England since he was a boy. His house had as yet been the only place for divine service, but was not nearly large enough for the station. There is a ball-room of sufficient size, but objections had been made to using this as a Church also, which I soon obviated, and the place was directed to be got ready for Sunday. On the Saturday preceding I held a Confirmation, when I administered the rite to 27 people, the good old Brigadier at their head. On Sunday I had a congregation of about 120, of whom 32 staid for the Sacrament. This was an interesting sight in a land where 15 years ago very few Christians had ever penetrated.

Timber is excessively dear, and all articles of wooden furniture proportionably scarce. When ladies and gentlemen go out to dinner parties, they send their own chairs as well as their own plates, knives, and forks, a custom borrowed from the camp and very sensible and convenient. At Church also every body was to bring their own chairs; but as the soldiers had very few of them any thing like a seat, I begged that the ladies and gentlemen would send what supply they could spare for their use. A curious muster was accordingly made of all the chairs in the cantonment, but there were still more people than seats. The good nature with which my request was met pleased me extremely.

European articles are, as might be expected, very dear. The shops are kept by a Greek and two Parsees from Bombay. They had in their lists all the usual items of a Calcutta warehouse. English cotton cloths, both white and printed, are to be met with commonly in wear among the people of the country; and may, I learned to my surprise, be bought best and cheapest, as well as all kinds of hardware, crockery, writing-desks, &c. at Pallee, a large

town and celebrated mart in Marwar on the edge of the desert, several days journey west of Joudpoor, where, till very lately, no European was known to have penetrated.

I here exchanged my escort of sepoys, I believe, with mutual regret. They, as their commander, Colonel Thomas, told me, made a formal application to go on with me to my journey's end; and I, on hearing this, expressed the same desire. They were, however, wanted in their regiment after this long absence; and the more so because, without them, that regiment, in consequence of the numbers which had been distributed on different services, was almost a skeleton.

*February* 14.—I had intended to leave Nusseerabad to-day, but my course was arrested by the painful news of the illness of my poor baby. My first impression was to set out immediately, by the way of Saugor, for the Ganges; but reflecting that at Neemuch I should receive further intelligence, and be better able to decide as to the propriety of returning, I resolved to go on; Captain Fagan, the Post-master, having very kindly ordered one of the servants of his office to go with me, who was empowered to open and examine any Dâk packets which might pass us.

Accordingly on *February* 15th, I quitted Nusseerabad, a place which I found so much pleasanter than it had been described to me, that I have, perhaps, thought too favourably of it. Its inhabitants, however, certainly spoke well of it; and of them I have every reason to think and speak highly. I have not, in all India, met with a better informed, a more unaffected and hospitable society. We marched 19 miles to Bunaee, a good-sized town situated at the foot of one of the ranges of mountains seen from Nusseerabad, with a little old castle on an adjoining rock, and a good many spreading trees round its base, which in this country are a very unusual and valuable ornament. The people of the place begged that we would not deface these trees by cutting them for our elephants and camels. A great part of the trade of their town, they said, depended on them, inasmuch as a *religious fair* was held annually

under their shade. This was just over, and we had met during our march a number of people returning from it. Of course I complied with a wish so natural, and purchased in consequence 300 little bundles of maize straw as food for the three elephants.

The Greek shopkeeper of Nusseerabad, a Mr. Athanass, a very decent man, rode after me to this place to ask my blessing, being the only Christian bishop whom he had seen since he had left Smyrna. He said he usually attended the worship of the Church of England, but had been ill on the morning of last Sunday. He had been sixteen years in India, had a brother, also a shopkeeper, at Meerut, and their family, he said, for two or three generations, had come out to make little competencies in the East, and had returned to spend the evening of their lives in their native country. He was very anxious to hear news from Greece, and I felt sorry that I had nothing good to tell him. I prevailed on him to eat some cold meat and drink some claret, but he would not sit down in the same room with me. Dr. Smith and I were lodged in an empty bungalow, one of several constructed along this road for the convenience of Sir David Ochterlony, but which all travellers may make use of. They are sorry buildings of stone, thatched, with no furniture, nor any better doors and windows than pieces of matting; they however save the trouble of pitching tents, and answer every purpose for which they were intended.

The Raja, or Thakoor of the place, who resides in the little fort already mentioned, is a child, and his mother sent to allege his tender age as a reason for his not calling on me. In the town, where we walked in the evening, are two very elegant little temples.

*February* 16.—We went to Deeolea, six coss. It is a small shabby town, with a mud rampart and a ruinous castle. The soil apparently improves as we go south, but the country is sadly burnt up, and bare of every thing but thorny trees which are pretty thickly scattered in some places.

*February* 17.—We proceeded seven coss to Dabla, a poor

town like the last, at which we entered on the territories of the Ranah of Oodeypoor, and were met by one of the servants of Captain Cobbe, British Resident at that court, who had prepared every thing necessary for me. I found here another letter from home, with a more favourable account of the infant, but a bad account of my eldest girl. Now, however, I must proceed to Neemuch.

All this country is strangely desolate; yet the number of tombs and ruins which we passed proved that it had been well inhabited at no very distant period. Oodeypoor was, indeed, the district which suffered most from the Pindarrees, and from two of the chieftains who had the greatest influence with those horrible robbers, Bappoo Sindia, a cousin of the Maha Raja, and Jumsheed Khân. The only district which escaped was the territory of Kotah, then administered, during the Ranah's minority, by the Regent Zalim Singh, of whose character and many virtues an interesting account may be found in Sir John Malcolm's "Central India," and who, by firmness, personal popularity, and the able employment of very limited means, made his little country a sort of Eden amid the surrounding misery, and his court to be renowned as an asylum for the exiled and unfortunate from every neighbouring principality. He died a few years ago, loved by his own subjects and reverenced even by the worst and most lawless of his neighbours. During the time of Colonel Monson's disastrous expedition and retreat through these provinces, Zalim Singh offered to open his gates to his distressed army and protect them during the whole rainy season, provided Monson would guarantee to him the British protection against the subsequent vengeance of Jeswunt Row Holcar. But he was incurable in his feelings of dislike and distrust towards all the natives of Hindostan. He would not so much as confide in the valour and loyalty of his own sepoys, far less in that of a stranger; and he had, perhaps, no authority for promising the alliance of his government to any native power so distant as Zelim Singh was from the *then* frontier of the Company. The generous

offer of the Regent was, however, very properly remembered and rewarded when the British became paramount in Rajpootana.

A "Bhât" or Bard came to ask a gratuity. I desired him first to give a specimen of his art, on which he repeated some lines of so pure Hindoo, that I could make out little or nothing except "Bhadrinâth," "Duccun," and other words expressive of immense extent, and of the different parts of the compass; the poetry was in praise of the vast conquests of the British. He only repeated a very few lines, and seemed unwilling to go on, on which one of the bystanders, a Dâk peon, reproached him for his idleness, and rattled off twenty lines of the same language in high style and with much animation, as a sort of challenge to an Amœbæan contest. He spoke so rapidly that I caught even less of his meaning than of the bard's before, but the measure struck me as very nearly approaching to the hexameter. The bard rejoined with considerable vehemence, and I perceived that like the corresponding contests of the shepherds in Theocritus and Virgil, the present trial of skill would soon degenerate into a scolding match, and therefore dismissed both parties (according to the good old custom of Daphnis and other similar arbiters) giving each a small gratuity.

The Bhâts are a sacred order all through Rajpootana. Their race was especially created by Mahadeo for the purpose of guarding his sacred bull; but they lost this honourable office through their cowardice. The god had a pet lion also, and as the favourite animals were kept in the same apartment, the bull was eaten almost every day in spite of all the noise which the Bhâts could make, greatly to the grief of Siva, and to the increase of his trouble, since he had to create a new bull in the room of every one which fell a victim to the ferocity of his companion. Under these circumstances the deity formed a new race of men, the Charuns, of equal piety and tuneful powers, but more courageous than the Bhâts, and made them the wardens of his menagerie. The Bhâts, however, still retained their functions of singing the praises of gods and heroes, and, as the hereditary guardians of history and

pedigree, are held in higher estimation than even the brahmins themselves, among the haughty and fierce nobles of Rajpootana. In the yet wilder districts to the south-west, the more warlike Charun, however, take their place in popular reverence. A few years back it was usual for merchants or travellers going through Malwah and Guzerât to hire a Charun to protect them, and the sanctity of his name was generally sufficient. If robbers appeared, he stepped forwards waving his long white garments, and denouncing, in verse, infamy and disgrace on all who should injure travellers under the protection of the holy minstrel of Siva. If this failed he stabbed himself with his dagger, generally in the left arm, declaring that his blood was on their heads; and, if all failed, he was bound in honour to stab himself to the heart, a catastrophe of which there was little danger, since the violent death of such a person was enough to devote the whole land to barrenness, and all who occasioned it to an everlasting abode in Padalon.

The Bhâts protect nobody; but to kill or beat one of them would be regarded as very disgraceful and ill-omened; and presuming on this immunity and on the importance attached to that sort of renown which it confers, they are said often to extort money from their wealthy neighbours by promises of spreading their great name, and threats of making them infamous and even of blasting their prospects. A wealthy merchant in Indore, some years since, had a quarrel with one of these men, who made a clay image which he called after the merchant's name, and daily in the bazar and in the different temples addressed it with bitter and reproachful language, intermixed with the most frightful curses which an angry poet could invent. There was no redress, and the merchant, though a man of great power and influence at court, was advised to bribe him into silence; this he refused to do, and the matter went on for several months, till a number of the merchant's friends subscribed a considerable sum, of which, with much submission and joined hands, they intreated the Bhât to accept. "Alas!" was his answer, "why was not this done before? Had I been conciliated

in time your friend might yet have prospered. But now, though I shall be silent henceforth, I have already said too much against him, and when did the imprecations of a bard, so long persisted in, fall to the ground unaccomplished?" The merchant, as it happened, was really overtaken by some severe calamities, and the popular faith in the powers of the minstrel character is now more than ever confirmed.

I find that the European complexion and dress are greater objects of curiosity here than I should have expected; of both they see many specimens in officers travelling through the country, and their own tint is so much lighter than that of the people of Bengal, that my habituated eyes have ceased almost to consider them as different from Europeans. I can perceive, however, in the crowds of women and children who come out to see us, that Dr. Smith and I are lions of the first magnitude; and an instance which happened this day shews that we are reckoned formidable lions too. A girl of about twelve years old, whom we met in our walk round the town, stopped short and exclaimed in a voice almost amounting to a cry, "Alas, mighty sir, ("maharaja") do not hurt me! I am a poor girl and have been carrying bread to my father." What she expected me to do to her I cannot tell, but I have never before been addressed in terms so suitable to an Ogre.

All the provinces of Meywar were, for a considerable time after their connection with the British Government, under the administration of Captain Todd, whose name appears to be held in a degree of affection and respect by all the upper and middling classes of society, highly honourable to him and sufficient to rescue these poor people from the often repeated charge of ingratitude. Here and in our subsequent stages, we were continually asked by the cutwals, &c. after "Todd Sahib," whether his health was better since he returned to England, and whether there was any chance of their seeing him again? On being told it was not likely, they all expressed much regret, saying, that the country had never known quiet till he came among them, and that every

body, whether rich or poor, except thieves and Pindarrees, loved him. He, in fact, Dr. Smith told me, loved the people of this country and understood their language and manners in a very unusual degree. He was on terms of close friendship with Zalim Singh of Kotah, and has left a name there as honourable as in Oodeypoor. His misfortune was that, in consequence of his favouring the native princes so much, the Government of Calcutta were led to suspect him of corruption, and consequently to narrow his powers and associate other officers with him in his trust, till he was disgusted and resigned his place. They are now, I believe, well satisfied that their suspicions were groundless. Captain Todd is strenuously vindicated from the charge by all the officers with whom I have conversed, and some of whom have had abundant means of knowing what the natives themselves thought of him.

There is a castle at Dable, but much dilapidated. The Thakoor, its owner, is in disgrace, and has sought refuge at Kotah, where he now resides in exile; the supplies were consequently scanty and dear, and the elephants had to go a long way before any trees could be found for their forage. What was worse still, a good deal of altercation and recrimination occurred, as to the question whether the money which I paid found its way to the poor peasants. Abdullah said, the cutwal of the place had complained to him of its having been intercepted by the sepoys, but the cutwal has, in my presence, and in answer to my questions, declared that all had been received. On the other hand, Abdullah had been accused, by some of the sepoys, of frequent extortion during our journey. So difficult is it to find out the real state of the case among people in whose eyes a lie is not disgraceful, and, if an offence, a very venial one! A good many of the tradesmen and merchants of this neighbourhood are natives of Biccanere, a celebrated city in the desert, and generally return when they have made a little money to end their days in that place,—a remarkable instance of the love of country, inasmuch as it stands in one of the most inhospitable regions of the earth, with an ocean of

sand on every side, and all the drinkable water in the place is monopolized and sold out by the Government. Aboo, respecting which I asked several questions, lies, as I was told, forty coss directly west of Oodeypoor, in a very wild and thinly inhabited country. On every account, I apprehend, I have done well in not going there in this season of drought and scarcity.

*February* 18.—From Dabla to Bunaira is about 16 miles; the country rather improves, at least it is not so naked, though the timber is little better than thorny bushes. Bunaira is a large walled town, prettily situated in the midst of gardens and fields, at the foot of a range of craggy and shrubby hills, on one of which is a very fine castle larger than that of Carnarvon, and in good repair. The Raja, who resides in it, came out to meet me at the head of a considerable cavalcade; he was splendidly dressed, with a very glittering turban, a shield slung on his back, and a remarkably elegant sword and dagger in his sash. His horse was led by two grooms tolerably well-clothed; the attire of his silver-stick and standard bearers, and other servants was not in very good repair, and his own cane was carried by a naked boy of about fourteen. He was an elderly man, and had lost many of his teeth, which made it very difficult for me to understand him. This does not seem an usual infirmity in India, but the Raja's red eyes and eager emaciated countenance sufficiently proved him to be an opium-eater. On our first meeting we endeavoured to embrace, but our horses threw themselves into such offensive attitudes, and shewed such unequivocal signs of hostile intentions, that we could only touch each other's hands. I know not how Cabul's courage rates, but he looked as if he would have torn both the Raja and his horse into shreds. When our steeds were a little pacified, we rode abreast a short distance, and began a conversation. It is, fortunately, the custom in this part of the world for persons of very high rank to converse only through the medium of a confidential servant, and I gladly made use of this etiquette, using the dâk jemaûtdar, whose Hindoostanee I understood pretty well, as the channel of

communication with the muttering old Rajpoot. The effect, however, of this procedure was abundantly ludicrous. "Tell the Raja Sahib that I am happy to meet him, and hope he is in good health;" thus rendered: "The Lord Sahib *decrees* that he is happy to see your worship, and hopes you are in good health." "Tell the Lord Sahib that I am in very good health, thanks to his arrival and *provision*, and that I hope he is well:" rendered, "The Raja Sahib makes representation that he is very well, thanks to Huzzoor's arrival," &c. In this way we talked on various subjects in our way to the bungalow, which stands in a grove of scattered trees and shrubs, at a little distance from the city gate. We passed the dam of what had been a noble pool, of probably 150 acres, but now quite dry, as was, the Raja said, another of equal size on the other side of the town.

We passed also the first field of white poppies which I had seen, a sign of our approach to the opium district. The bungalow commands a very striking view of the Raja's fortress; on arriving there we alighted and embraced in a most affectionate sort, after which I conducted him in and seated him at my right-hand. A little more common-place conversation followed, and he took his leave. Soon after he sent a considerable present of sweetmeats, which I ordered to be divided among the servants and soldiers. The bungalow looked very desolate, and I took the precaution of having my mosquito-net put up as a security from the scorpions, which, in such buildings, sometimes drop from the thatch, and slept at night very comfortably.

In the evening we walked to a neighbouring hill, where we had another view of the castle and town; the former, we were told, had stood a siege from Zalim Singh of Kotah, who erected his batteries on the hill where we now were, but from whence his balls could not have reached the ramparts, and Ameer Khân had ravaged the neighbourhood without attempting the castle. It would doubtless be a place of considerable strength even against an European army, unless they bombarded it, since there are no

neighbouring heights which command it, and the rocky nature of the soil would make it very difficult and laborious to open trenches. But shells would, probably, soon compel a native garrison to surrender. A good deal of cotton grows round the city, and some wheat and barley, with several palm-trees, and the whole scene was interesting and romantic. Ruined tombs and mosques were scattered over the hills to a considerable distance.

*February* 19.—From Bunaira to Bheelwara is ten miles; the road for about four miles wound very agreeably through hills and scattered jungles. Afterwards we entered a plain, greener and better cultivated than we had seen any extent of country for many days; the cattle all shewed this change, and, notwithstanding the drought had extended hither also, were in a plight which, even in England, would not have been called actual starvation. At about seven miles we passed Sanganeer, a large town and celebrated fortress, with a good rampart, bastions of better construction than most I have seen, a glacis and ditch which shewed signs of having been a wet one. The walls of the town were, however, much dilapidated, and we were told it had been sacked by Ameer Khân. Here I was met by the Khamdar or judge of Bhularia, with a message of welcome from the Ranah of Oodeypoor; he was a very clean and respectable old man, with a numerous attendance of ragged matchlock men.

Bheelwara is a large town without any splendid buildings, but with a number of neat houses, four long bazars, and a greater appearance of trade, industry, and moderate, but widely diffused wealth and comfort than I had seen since I left Delhi. The streets were full of hackeries laden with corn and flour, the shops stored with all kinds of woollen, felt, cotton, and hardware goods, and the neatness of their workmanship in iron far surpassed what I should have expected to see. Here too, every body was full of Captain Todd's praise. The place had been entirely ruined by Jumsheed Khân and deserted by all its inhabitants, when Captain Todd persuaded the Ranah to adopt measures for encouraging the

owners of land to return, and foreign merchants to settle; he himself drew up a code of regulations for them, obtained them an immunity from taxes for a certain number of years, and sent them patterns of different articles of English manufacture for their imitation. He also gave money liberally to the beautifying their town. In short, as one of the merchants who called on me said, "it ought to be called Todd-gunge, but there is no need, for we shall never forget him." Such praise as this from people who had no further hopes of seeing or receiving any benefit from him, is indeed of sterling value.

Though the country improves, the people, I think, are a smaller race than those to the north, and certainly fall very far short of the Hindoostanee sepoys.

*February* 20, *Sunday.*—We were again obliged to go a short stage this day, in order that I might have, which is absolutely necessary, two entire days at Neemuch. I tried different ways of arranging the journey so as to secure our Sunday's rest, but it would not do. We began our march with a very melancholy omen. One of the Raja's soldiers, or chokeydars, for the name of soldier they hardly merited, who had been sent from the town to take charge of the remainder of the grass which my suwarrs had left, sate down on the parapet of a deep and broad well or "boolee," with a wide flight of steps down to the water's edge. Here he either fell asleep or was seized with a fit; at all events he rolled over, fell at least forty feet on the stone staircase, and was dashed to pieces. He had no wife, but left two children, one a boy in service, the other a little girl of eight years old. Her uncle brought this child to me in consequence of my enquiries and the interest which I took in the business; the poor little thing seemed hardly to understand what had happened, except that something dismal had befallen her father; and her blubbered cheeks, her great black eyes, which were fixed on me between fear and astonishment, and her friendless state affected me much. I gave her money enough to burn the dead body and leave her

something over for her own immediate maintenance, and recommended her to the care of her uncle, who confessed himself to be her natural guardian.

These boolees are singular contrivances, and some of them extremely handsome and striking; they are very deep square pits about fifteen or twenty feet across, lined with hewn stone, and sometimes sixty or seventy feet deep. At the top is a pulley, as in a common well, by which water is drawn from the bottom by oxen, but on one side is a long and broad flight of stone steps to the water's edge, and, with its approach, sometimes ornamented with pillars and a kind of portico. The steps are used both by people who desire to wash themselves, and by those who have not rope enough to reach the water from the surface, and the effect in going down is often very striking. They are generally full of pigeons, which build their nests in crannies of the walls.

Our road was through a country chiefly covered with open jungle to Ummeerghur, distant nine miles. A little short of this place we passed the river Bunass, now a dry channel with the exception of a narrow stream of beautiful and rapid water in its centre. It flows eastward, and falls into the Jumna. In the rainy season it is a very great river, and the suwarrs told us they had never seen it so dry before. There is another river of the same name beyond the hills of Aboo and Palhanpoor, which falls into the Runn to the west of Guzerat, a circumstance which has led Arrowsmith into some great errors, in supposing these streams to rise out of the same lake and flow different ways.

Ummeerghur is a good sized town, in the centre of which are three very pretty temples ranged in a line, and built on an uniform plan, with a tomb on their right hand, where repose the ashes of a rich merchant their founder. A considerable manufactory of chintz seemed going on, and the place bore the marks of apparent prosperity. Above it, on a high rock, stands a castle, which was conquered last year for the Ranah from a rebellious Thakoor.

The Ranah, with 3000 men, had besieged it three months before he asked for the help of British troops. Finding, however, that he made no progress, he applied to the Brigadier at Neemuch, and two battalions and a few mortars settled the affair in little more than one day. This was told me by the Khamdar of the town, and confirmed with a sort of exultation by the jemautdar of a troop of irregular cavalry, who, as his corps is under a British officer, and he himself had served in our army against Asseerghur, seemed to pique himself on being a British, not an Oodeypoor soldier. The Khamdar, together with the "Potail," or Zemindar of the neighbouring district, (who is here an officer strictly hereditary, and answering to the Lord of a Manor in England,) called on me, attended by a number of men with rusty matchlocks, swords, and shields. The Khamdar spoke very intelligible Hindoostanee, and I thought him a sensible man. The potail had the appearance of a venerable old farmer. The whole party, attendants and all, entered the bungalow in the unceremonious manner which Sir John Malcolm ascribes to the natives generally of Central India, and seated themselves on the ground in a half-circle round me, resting their hands on their shields. My servants were a good deal scandalized at this rustic plainness, but there was, evidently, no offence intended. On the contrary nothing could exceed the attention which they paid us during the day. Fuel and grass were furnished on the most liberal scale, and they sent a stock of very fine fish, enough to dine our whole camp, while all payment was steadily refused, except that I was, with some difficulty, allowed to give three rupees to the fishermen who had worked for us the greatest part of the morning. Of the fish, indeed, they were glad to dispose as soon as possible in any way which might offer. They were the inhabitants of a large pool close to the castle hill, which appeared, in the rains, to cover about eighty acres, being then supplied from the Bunass river. It usually retained its water all the year, but this cruel season had already brought it very low, and in a month more they calculated that it would be quite dry. Accordingly all

hands were now at work to catch the fish while they were yet alive, and people from the whole country round about had assembled either for this purpose, or to purchase them, a very large "rooee" being to be had for a single pice. Captain Gerard, an engineer officer who met me here, went to see the chace, and said it was very curious. The fish were pursued in the shallow muddy water with sticks, spears, and hands in all directions, but there was little execution done till four Bheels, in the service of the Oodeypoor government made their appearance. The rabble were then driven away, and these savages, with their bows and arrows, made in a few hours that havoc among the fish which produced such plenty in the camp, singling out the largest, and striking them with as much certainty as if they had been sheep in a fold. The magistrates offered to renew the sport for my diversion in the evening, but, being Sunday, I did not choose it. I saw the fishermen, however, who were the first of their nation I had met with ; middle-sized, slender men, very dark, with frames which promised hardiness and agility more than much muscular strength. They were bare-headed, and quite naked except a small belt of coarse cloth round the loins, in which they carried their knives. Their bows were of split bamboos, very simply made but strong and elastic, more so, I think, than those of buffalo-horn which are generally used in Hindostan. They were about four feet six inches long, and formed like those of Europe. The arrows were also of bamboo, with an iron head coarsely made, and a long single barb. Those intended for striking fish had this head so contrived as to slip off from the shaft when the fish was struck, but to remain connected with it by a long line, on the principle of the harpoon. The shaft, in consequence, remained as a float on the water, and not only contributed to weary out the animal, but shewed his pursuer which way he fled and thus enabled him to seize it.

We have not yet passed any Bheel villages, but I am told that we are getting into their neighbourhood: Bheelwara, indeed, though now inhabited by Hindoo and Mussulman traders, should

seem, in its name, to retain the mark of its original population. During the period which is emphatically called by all the people of this country "the years of trouble," these savages were one among the many scourges which laid waste the fields, and made travelling a desperate adventure. The revival of the Rajpoot Governments, and the better system of police which English influence has introduced among them, together with the aid which they receive on all serious occasions from the garrisons of Mhow and Neemuch, have put a stop in a great degree to these depredations; and the judicious measures of firmness and conciliation pursued towards the Bheel chiefs, who have had lands granted them tax-free, in order to bring them into regular habits, and have been many of them enrolled, like the Puharrees and Mhairs, in local corps for the defence of the roads, have gone far to make the savages themselves sensible of their true interests, and the kind intentions of the English towards them. Still, however, there are occasional excesses, though they are chiefly indulged in against the Hindoos. A few months since, one of the bazars at Neemuch was attacked and plundered by a body of the hill people, who succeeded in getting off with their booty before the troops in the neighbouring cantonment could overtake them. And there are, doubtless, even in the plains, many who still sigh after their late anarchy, and exclaim, amid the comforts of a peaceable government,

> "Give us our wildness and our woods,
> Our huts and caves again!"

The son of Mr. Palmer, Chaplain of Nusseerabad, a clever boy, who speaks the native languages very fluently, while travelling lately with his father and mother in their way from Mhow, observed some Bheels looking earnestly at a large drove of laden bullocks which were drinking in a ford of the Bunass. He asked one of the men if the bullocks belonged to him? "No," was the reply, "but a good part of them would have been ours if

it were not for you Sahib Log, who will let nobody thrive but yourselves!"

Captain Gerard I found, under a very modest exterior, a man of great science and information; he was one of the persons most concerned in the measurement and exploring of the Himalaya mountains, had been in Ladak, and repeatedly beyond the Chinese frontier, though repelled each time, after penetrating a few miles, by the Tartar cavalry. He had himself ascended to the height of 19,600 feet, or 400 higher than Humboldt had ever climbed amid the Andes, and the latter part of his ascent, for about two miles, was on an inclined plane of 42, a nearer approach to the perpendicular than Humboldt conceived it possible to climb for any distance together. Nothing, he said, could exceed the care with which Major Hodgson, Mr. Frazer, and himself had ascertained the altitude of the hills. Each of the accessible peaks had been measured by repeated and scrupulous experiments with the barometer, corrected by careful trigonometrical measurement, checked by astronomical observations. The inaccessible heights had been found by trigonometry, on bases of considerable extent, and with the help of the best and highest priced instruments. The altitudes, therefore, of the hills, and the general geography of the provinces on the British side of the frontier, he regarded as about as well settled as human means could do it, and far better than the same objects have been obtained in most countries of Europe. The line at which vegetation ends, he stated to be about 13,000 feet. The mountains of Kemaoon, he said, are considerably more accessible and less rocky than those which lie north of Sabathoo, where the scenery is more sublimely terrible than can be described. Yet Nundi Devi, and the other highest peaks lie nearer to Almorah than to Sabathoo, and the scenery of both these situations falls short of the upper parts of the valley of the Alacanandra which flows between them. The more I hear of these glorious hills, the more do I long to see them again, and explore them further. But my journeys never can nor ought to be mere tours of pleasure, and the erection of a

new Church, the location of a new Chaplain, and twenty other similar matters may compel me to a course extremely contrary to what I could desire if I were master of my own time.

Captain Gerard had been employed some time in surveying and mapping this part of India, and was now for his health returning to the hills, having had a severe fever at Neemuch. He spoke of Jyepoor as the least hospitable and most unruly of all the Rajpoot and Maharatta principalities, and seemed rather to wonder that I had got through it so well, and met with so much general civility.

In the evening we walked to see the fort on the hill, which, though it looks extensive and showy from without, is within neither large nor interesting. The only object of curiosity is a very deep well, the water of which is drawn up by a wheel turned by bullocks, but which, preposterously enough, is placed just without the main wall of the castle.

*February* 21.—From Ummeerghur to Gungrowr is a distance of ten miles, the latter half through a jungle of bushes and stunted trees, but with a very tolerable road, though not easy to find, on account of the number of tracks winding in every direction through the coppice. Gungrowr is a small town with a castle, perched on a rock at the foot of a range of woody hills. It had been described to me as only remarkable for the predatory habits of its people. Of these I had no opportunity of judging; to us they were very civil, and the bill for expences brought in by the chief of the place was very moderate. But the situation I thought the most beautiful I had seen since leaving the mountains. Our tents were pitched in a plain traversed by a small brook which, even now, was not dry, and bordered by a wood of some of the largest mangoe, saul, peepul, and banyan trees which I ever saw except at Ruderpoor, above which rose the hills with their rock, brush-wood, and ruinous towers; and in spite of this burning season, the ground was so good and the brook so abundant, that there was a very tolerable turf, a thing which I had not seen, I might almost say,

since I left Bengal! I had a delightful walk in the wood as soon as the day grew cool. In spite of the ill-reputation of the neighbourhood I left my train behind, and could often almost fancy myself at dear Hodnet. I believe this place did me real good, at least I felt better hope and heart after a half-hour's stroll, when I was joined by Dr. Smith, who agreed with me that, but for a few scattered palm-trees, the scene would have been entirely English. It would, he said, have been Scottish, but for the great size of the timber, which indeed I have seldom, if ever, seen equalled in our own country.

I asked the duffildar of the irregular horse if there were many groves as fine as these in our way to Neemuch, and was glad to hear that the country would become more and more woody and verdant as we advanced. The jemautdar from Umeerghur made his appearance again to-day. He had, indeed, promised to go with me as far as Chittore, but now apologized on the plea that news had arrived of a band of robbers having made their appearance near Bheelwara, the inhabitants of which place had sent to ask his assistance. He did not know the strength of the banditti, but said that with the ten men whom he had with him, he should not be afraid of charging fifty Bheels. I asked him if it were true that the people of Gungrowr bore so ill a character "The same," he said, "as all the people in the neighbourhood; all had been thieves, and all would be so again if they dared. Bheels or Rajpoots, there was little difference." He was himself a Mussulman, a short, but very strong built man, with a cheerful countenance and a good deal of energy of manner. He said there were 100 horse stationed in different parts of this district under a tusseeldar and himself, to keep the peace. They had at first some troublesome work, but now things were reasonably quiet.

I had another countryman with me to-day, Dr. Gibb, late inspecting surgeon of this district, and just appointed a member of the Military Board, to take his seat in which he was now marching towards Calcutta. He is a cheerful, well-informed old gentleman,

and gave me a good deal of additional knowledge respecting Central and Western India. The Mussulman jaghiredars, Ghuffoor Khân, Ameer Khân, and a few others, make better sovereigns than the Hindoo princes. Though remorseless robbers, so far as they dare, to all their neighbours, they manage their ryuts better, are themselves better educated and men of better sense than the generality of Rajas or Ranahs, and are sufficiently aware of their own interest to know that if they ruin the peasantry they will themselves be losers. Ameer Khân, like the saintly Woggarwolfe in Miss Baillie's "Ethwald," now that he can no longer carry fire and sword from Bhopâl to Joudpoor, is grown devout in his old age, dresses in sackcloth and ragged apparel, tells his beads, and reads his Koran continually, and is surrounded by Faquirs. He is extremely rich, but his army, except a few household troops, he was obliged by Lord Hastings to dismiss. To prevent the evil of turning such a horde of desperate men loose on the country, all who chose it were taken into the Company's service. But Ameer Khân would still have found, had his services against Jyepoor been accepted by Government, no scarcity of ruffians and vagabonds to join the banner of so renowned a leader, and would in a few weeks have been again the old Patan General, the neighing of whose horses was heard from Gurmukteser Ghât to the hill of Aboo.

The Ranah of Oodeypoor has a large extent of territory and, in ordinary years, a singularly fertile one, were these people to cultivate it. But he was quite ruined and beggared by Bapoo Sindia and Jumsheed Khân. Half his revenues at least are mortgaged to shroffs and money-lenders, and his people are pitiably racked in order to pay the exorbitant interest of his debts. It has been the misfortune of his family to have been the oldest and purest in India; to be descended in a right line from the Sun without any debasing mixture, having resisted all attempts of the Emperors of Delhi to effect an intermarriage of the houses, and reckoning, I believe, in their pedigree, one or two Avatars of the Deity. In consequence they have been generally half mad with pride, perpe-

tually marrying among themselves, fond of show and magnificence beyond their means, or the usual custom of Hindoo Sovereigns, and very remarkably deficient in knowledge and intelligence. The present Ranah adds to all these advantages a great fondness for opium. In consequence the revenue is collected in the most oppressive, and dissipated in the most absurd manner, and except in the large towns which have obtained, more or less, the protection of the British Resident, the country, Dr. Gibb said, has profited infinitely less than either Malwah or the rest of Meywar, by the peace which it has enjoyed since the destruction of the Pindarrees. Yet, in comparison with Jyepoor, the country is plentiful and thriving. Corn is cheap, and the number of beggars less than I have seen on this side of Delhi. And when the very unfavourable season is taken into consideration, I really think that present appearances may be well accounted for, without supposing any great oppression on the part of their government.

The late Thakoor Bulwar Singh, who was shot, with his two eldest sons, about two months ago in an affair with our troops at Boondee, was considered as the ablest man in this part of India. He was as restless, however, as he was active and daring, the untameable enemy of the British power, and the person who chiefly encouraged the Rannee of Jyepoor to brave that power. His mine, fortunately, exploded too soon. Conscious of his own intrigues, he refused to give any explanation of his conduct to the Resident of Kotah, fortified himself in his house, and fired on four companies of Sepoys who, by a fortunate chance for the Government, happened then to march through the country. Finding himself unprepared to stand a siege, he sallied out with about twenty men, among whom were his sons, and all three fell in the attempt to cut through the soldiers. His youngest son, a boy, has been allowed to inherit his jaghire.

The weather is growing warm though, as yet, by no means oppressive. I must expect some heat, however, before I reach Baroda.

*February* 22.—From Gungrowr to Chittore is between twelve and thirteen miles, a wild but interesting road winding through woods at the foot of some fine rocky hills. The situation of Chittore is conspicuous from a considerable distance by the high rock on which the fortress stands, and which, from its scarped sides, and the buildings scattered along its crest, sufficiently denote its nature, even before the precise forms of the buildings themselves are distinguishable. There is a bungalow for travellers near the Bunass, but in a situation without shade, and too far from the city to answer my purpose. The tents were therefore sent on half a mile farther, to a small stony plain close to the town gates, and we followed them through a ford of the river, which in this place still runs with a considerable stream of very bright and beautiful water. On our left hand were the ruins of a long, lofty, and handsome bridge of eight gothic arches, and one semicircular one in the centre, with a ruined tower and gateway at each end. The ford was deep, with a sharp gravelly bottom, the road leading to it both ways extremely broken and stony. Our encamping ground was near the bazar, and close to a fine bowlee, but had no other advantages, being rocky and strewed with rubbish and fragments of buildings, with only a single tree. It was made, too, more uncomfortable by the neighbourhood of a poor mad woman, who had taken up her abode under a little shed just long enough and high enough to shelter her as she lay on her back, covered with a ragged cloth, and raving and lamenting, as we were told, and as I had good reason to believe, night and day. I gave her a little relief, as many others in the camp did, but she went on in the same tone, and with the same fluency. Dr. Smith offered to supply her with opium if she ever took it, but she answered "No," and went on as before, or rather worse. At last a sepoy said he would break her head if she did not hold her tongue, which quieted her for a few minutes, when she broke out again. He did not, however, put his threat into execution, nor do I believe he ever intended to do so: on the contrary, all the people called her a "Moonee,"

or inspired person, and treated her, if not with respect, at least with forbearance.

The Kamdar of the town, a very well-mannered man, in a splendid dress, called on me, and offered to conduct me to see the castle, which was a great favour, as it is a thing of which they are very jealous, and which probably not ten Europeans had seen out of all the number who have visited and lived in India. I proposed accompanying him at four in the evening, but he begged it might not be later than three, and that we would come on horseback, since it was, he said, nearly two coss to the top of the hill. We accordingly joined the Thakoor in the market-place of the little old city, where he was already mounted and ready to accompany us. Chittore was once the capital of this principality, and is still what would be called in England a tolerably large market-town, with a good many pagodas, and a meanly built but, apparently, busy bazar. The population seem chiefly weavers and dealers in grain. The fortress rises immediately above the town, and extends for a considerable distance to the right and left of it. The rock, where not naturally precipitous, has been scarped by art all round the summit to the height of from 80 to 120 feet, and is surmounted by a rude wall with semicircular bastions, enclosing, as our guide the Thakoor assured us, a circuit of six coss, or twelve miles. Of course it does not contain an area proportionate to this circumference, since the form is extremely irregular, and the ridge of the hill in many places narrow. But the length I can easily believe to be above two coss, and the measurement of the wall is, probably, not much exaggerated. The approach is by a zig-zag road, of very easy slope, but stony and in bad repair, passing under six gateways with traverses and rude out-works, before we arrive at the main entrance of the castle. The whole face of the hill, except the precipice, is covered with trees and brushwood, and the approach is therefore very picturesque and interesting. It is certainly, however, not two coss in gradual ascent, though it may perhaps be not far short of one. In advance of the castle

gate is an out-work, or barbican, with a colonnade internally of octagonal pillars and carved imposts, supporting a flat terrace, and with a hall in the interior, which our guide pointed out to us as resembling the hall of audience at Delhi! If he had said the Emperor's stables, he would have been nearer the truth, but I did not think it necessary to contradict him. The gateway itself is very lofty and striking, with a good deal of carving, in the genuine style of ancient Hindoo architecture, with no Mussulman intermixture, and more nearly resembling the Egyptian than any thing I have seen since my arrival in this country. On entering, we first passed through a small street of very ancient and singular temples, then through a narrow and mean bazar, then, and so long as day-light lasted, through a succession of most extraordinary and interesting buildings, chiefly ruinous, but some still in good repair. The temples were the most numerous, none of them large, but several extremely solemn and beautiful. There were two or three little old palaces, chiefly remarkable for the profusion of carving bestowed on rooms of very small dimensions, and arranged with no more regard to convenience than a common prison. One of these, which is seated on a rock in the midst of a large pool, was pointed out as the residence of a very beautiful Rannee, whose fame induced the Emperor Acbar to demand her in marriage, and, on her father's refusal, to lay siege to Chittore, like another Agramant, in order to win the hand of this Eastern Angelica. After a long siege he succeeded in undermining a part of the wall, on which the princess in question persuaded all her country-women in the garrison to retire with her and her children into this palace, where they were, at their own desire, suffocated with the smoke of fuel heaped up in the lower apartments, only two remaining alive. The garrison then sallied out on the enemy, and all died fighting desperately, neither giving nor accepting quarter. The two female survivors of the carnage were found by Acbar, and given in marriage to two of his officers. I give this story as I heard it from the Thakoor Myte Motee Ram. With

the exception of the romantic cause assigned for Acbar's invasion of Oodeypoor, it is indeed "an ower true tale," the horrible circumstances of which may be found in Dow's History of Hindostan. It is extremely probable that there may have been some one high-spirited princess who urged her companions to submit cheerfully to slaughter, rather than to the wretched lot of female captives; but it is certain that all the women and children were slaughtered nearly in the manner described, which, in the blood-stained history of India, was of no uncommon occurrence, and known by the technical name of "Joar," being an act of devotion to Kali, to which men had recourse in the last extremity.

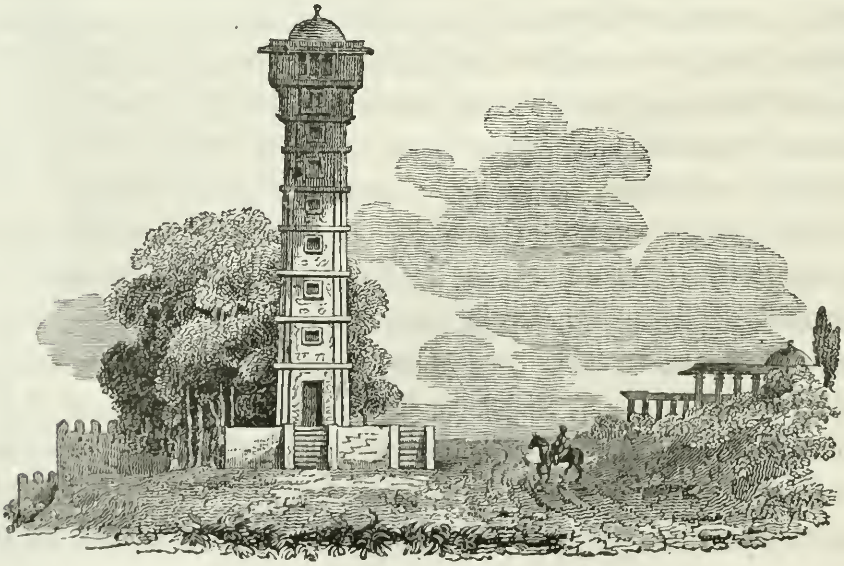
The palace on the lake has, however, no appearance of having suffered by fire, though the ruins of a long range of apartments to the north of the lake may very probably have been the scene of this sacrifice, and in this, perhaps, I may have misunderstood my informant. Just above, and on the crest of the hill, as if connected with this event, stands the largest temple in the fort, dedicated to the destroying powers, with the trident of Siva in front, and within, lighted by some lamps, in its furthest dark recess, a frightful figure of the blood-drinking goddess, with her lion, her many hands full of weapons, and her chaplet of skulls. A tyger's skin was stretched before her, and the pavement was stained with the blood of sacrifices from one end to the other. On one side, on a red cloth, sate three brahmins, the principal of whom, a very handsome man of about 35, was blind, and seemed to be treated by the other two, and by all the bystanders, with great deference. On my entering the temple, which is very beautiful, I gave a rupee to the brahmin next me, who with a very humble obeisance laid it at the foot of his superior, telling him at the same time that it was the gift of a "belattee Raja." He took no notice, however, of either it or me, merely raising his calm melancholy face and sightless eyes at the sound of my voice, and again turning them towards the shrine, while he kept telling the beads of his rosary. A large peepul grows in the court of the temple, and there are many

others scattered on different parts of the hill. In this and all the other temples, I was much struck with the admirable masonry and judicious construction of the domes which covered them, as well as with the very solemn effect produced by their style of architecture. A Gothic or Grecian building of the same size would merely have been beautiful, but these, small as they are, are aweful, the reason of which may be found in the low and massive proportion of their pillars, in the strong shadow thrown by their projecting cornices and un-pierced domes, in the long flights of steps leading to them, which give a consequence to structures of very moderate dimensions, and in the character of their ornaments, which consist either of mythological bas-reliefs, on a very minute scale, so as to make the buildings on which they are found seem larger, or in an endless repetition and continuation of a few very simple forms, so as to give the idea of a sort of infinity. The general construction of all these buildings is the same, a small court-yard, a portico, a square open building supported by pillars and surmounted by a dome, and behind this a close square shrine, surmounted by an ornamented pyramid. One, and one only, of the buildings on the hill struck me as a Mussulman erection, and on enquiring who built it, I was told it really was the work of Azeem Ushân, son of Aurengzebe, who also was fortunate enough to take Chittore, and who called this building " Futteh Muhul" (Victory Hall.) It is singular that such a trophy should have been allowed to stand when the Hindoos recovered the place. Though uninhabited and falling to decay, it is still tolerably entire.

There are, besides the pool which I have already noticed, many beautiful pools, cisterns, and wells, in different parts of this extraordinary hill, amounting, as we were assured, to 84, of which, however, in the present singularly dry season, only twelve have water. One of these last, cut in the solid rock, and fed by a beautiful spring with a little temple over it, is a most picturesque and romantic spot. It has high rocks on three sides, crowned with temples and trees; on the fourth are some old buildings,

also of a religious character, erected on the edge of the precipice which surrounds the castle, a long flight of rock-hewn steps leads down to the surface of the water, and the whole place breathes coolness, seclusion, and solemnity. Below the edge of the precipice, and with their foliage just rising above it, grow two or three plaintains of a very large size, which were pointed out to me as great curiosities. The Kamdar assured me that they were 300 years old, and that they every year produced excellent fruit, though, as he truly said, there could be very little earth on the ledge where they were rooted. They probably derive moisture from the water filtering through the rampart, which here forms a dam to the pool. For their great age I have only his authority.

The most extraordinary buildings in Chittore are two minarets or tower temples, dedicated to Siva. The smaller of these we only saw from a distance, and were told it was now ruinous; the largest, which resembles it in form, is a square tower nine stories high, of white marble most elaborately carved, surmounted by a cupola, and the two highest stories projecting, balcony-wise, beyond those beneath them, so that it stands on its smaller end.



There is a steep and narrow but safe staircase of marble within, conducting to seven small and two large apartments, all richly and delicately carved with mythological figures, of which the most conspicuous and most frequently repeated are, Siva embracing Parvati, and Siva in his character of destroyer, with a monstrous Cobra di Capello in each hand. Our guides said that the building was 500 years old, but from its beautiful state of preservation, I should not suppose it half that age. It is, so far as I could judge by the eye, about 110 or 120 feet high. The view from the top is very extensive, but, at the present season of the year, there is so much dust and glare that a distant prospect cannot be seen to advantage in this part of India.

On our return from the fort I found the killadar with a number of people round him, seated on the roof of the colonnade which I have mentioned. I paid him some compliments in passing on the magnificence and strength of his castle, which he received in a surly manner enough, barely standing up to return my civilities. I suspect that, though compelled by the order of his superiors to admit me, he was not well pleased at seeing Feringees within his castle, and perhaps still less so, that they came by the invitation of another person. We returned down the hill by torch-light, greatly pleased with our visit.

We did not see much of the rampart, but were struck by the very slight appearance of precaution or defence at the gates which we passed. There was only one clumsy piece of cannon visible, and the number of armed men did not altogether amount to sixty. A considerable population resides within the fort, but they seemed all brahmins, weavers, and market-people. If well garrisoned by a British force, the place would, with the addition of some casemates, be very nearly impregnable. Its situation is such that to batter it could be of little use, and, from its great extent, shells would not occasion much danger to the garrison. But to man its walls, even in the most imperfect manner, would require a moderate army.

In our way back through the town a man begged of me, saying that he was blind. On my calling him, however, he came forwards so readily to the torches, and saw, I thought, so clearly, that I asked him what he meant by telling me such a lie. He answered that he was night-blind (" rat unda"), and I, not understanding the phrase, and having been a good deal worried during the day with beggars, for the whole fort is a swarm of nothing else, said peevishly " darkness is the time for sleep not for seeing." The people laughed as at a good thing, but I was much mortified afterwards to find that it was an unfeeling retort. The disease of night-blindness, that is, of requiring the full light of day to see, is very common, Dr. Smith said, among the lower classes in India, and to some professions of men, such as soldiers, very inconvenient. The sepoys ascribe it to bad and insufficient food, and it is said to be always most prevalent in a scarcity. It seems to be the same disorder of the eyes with which people are afflicted who live on damaged or inferior rice, in itself a food of very little nourishment, and probably arises from a weakness of the digestive powers. I was grieved to think I had insulted a man who might be in distress, but Dr. Smith comforted me by saying that, even in respect of night-blindness, the man was too alert to be much of a sufferer from the cause which he mentioned.

*February* 23.—From Chittore to Sawa is a stage of ten miles, through a country almost entirely covered with jungle, not close and matted with long grass, but open, of scattered trees and bushes, with a tolerable turf under foot. It abounds, the suwarrs told me, with deer and wild hogs, but has very few tygers. These last, indeed, seem to like long grass and the neighbourhood of water, which is here by no means abundant. There are, however, other beasts of prey. A few nights before, a wolf had carried away a fine lamb from our little flock close under the nose of the centinel, who did not perceive the robber till too late.

Sawa is a good-sized town, walled, and containing two or three well-looking houses, four handsome pagodas, and two very beau-

tiful boolees. An unusual number of drunken men, four or five shewed themselves in the course of the day; they came in two parties to ask justice against some Brinjarrees, who, they said, had beaten and robbed them. It appeared on cross-examination, that in the Brinjarree encampment spirits were (in the language of the Calcutta market-book) "procurable." These men had been there, and got into some quarrel in which they had been soundly beaten, and very possibly robbed too, though this last seemed doubtful, as they had still their usual Rajpoot ornaments of silver about them, which would, I should think, have gone first. I told them I was not the sovereign of the land, and bade them go to the Kamdar of the town. I had seen very few drunken men in India before, but the time of "Hoolee" is now coming on, which is the Hindoo carnival, and in which the people of central India more particularly indulge in all kinds of riot and festivity. The sepoys of my guard have begun to assail the women whom they pass on their march with singing and indècent language, a thing seldom practised at other times. This is also the season for pelting each other with red powder, as we have seen practised in Calcutta.

I have endeavoured, within these few days, to learn the tenure of lands, their rent, &c. but found that the tenure differed in no respect from that described by Sir John Malcolm, and that there was no fixed rent but an annual settlement with Government, —a ruinous system, but too common, as it seems, all over India.

*February* 24.—From Sawa to Neemhaira there are six coss; the first part of the road through jungle again. Indeed the want of people in this part of Meywar is very striking, and the more so because the soil, though stony, is far from bad. Water, however, it is not impossible, may be difficult to obtain except at a considerable expence by piercing the rock. The most common tree, or rather bush, in these forests is the dhâk, with a large broad leaf like a peepul, and a beautiful pink flower which now begins to shew itself.

Neemhaira is a small town, surrounded with a better rampart and towers than any which I have lately seen, and with a far better cultivation round it of wheat, barley, and poppies. The poppies are very beautiful, the more so indeed from a circumstance which diminishes their value in the opium market, that, namely, they are red, white, and all colours instead of white only. Neemhaira, and the district round it, containing 275 villages, and yielding a revenue, as I was told by the towns-people, of three lacs, form a part of Ameer Khân's Jaghire, which consists of four or five detached territories, besides the principal one of Tonk, where he himself resides. The income of all together has been variously rated at from ten to twenty-four lacs; fifteen or sixteen may probably be about the amount. This is far more than he ever could have collected honestly during the time of his greatest power, since then he seldom was sure of any part of his territory, except what was actually in the possession of his army, and his great harvest always grew on his neighbour's lands.

Neemhaira is administered by a Mussulman officer of his, under the title of "moonshee," a very civil and apparently well-informed person. He furnished us liberally, and without accepting any remuneration, with fuel, grass, &c. as well as with four goats as a dinner for the people. The encamping ground, however, was bad, the neighbourhood of the town being so well cultivated that no place remained free, except what was covered with stones and ruins. There is a neat cutcherry with three or four small temples and a little mosque in the town; adjoining to the latter is the tomb of Jumsheed Khân, the late Patan chief, who, with Bappoo Sindia, held Oodeypoor in so complete and inhuman subjection. He has been dead, the moonshee told me, these five years. This was his Jaghire till his death. At present it is subject to the police of our Government, on account of the following transaction: a great robbery having occurred about a year ago in this district, in which some persons, British subjects from Neemuch, were attacked, stripped, and some of them killed, Colonel Lumley applied to

Ameer Khân for justice or damages. The Nawâb answered that he had no sufficient army to enforce his authority over so distant a possession, and that he wished that the English would take the district in farm, pay him a fair rent, and govern it in their own way. This offer was accepted. The moonshee, though administering justice in the name of the Nawâb, is appointed by Colonel Lumley, and there is a jemautdar with twenty of our horse quartered in the town to secure it and its neighbourhood. This jemautdar, who called on me, is one of the finest old men I have seen, with a grey beard flowing over his breast. He is a Mussulman, and, as I should have supposed from his tall stature, not of this country, but from the north of Hindostan. There is a very beautiful boolee in the town, built within these few years from a legacy left by a rich merchant. It has a noble staircase, and a verandah of rich Saracenic arches round the wall about half-way down. The water is now very low, but in the rains it is full nearly to the brim. These fine boolees seem peculiar to India west of the Jumna, at least I have never met with any like them to the eastward of that river. The practice of having steps down to the edge of the water, as well as corridors and porticos round the wells at certain heights, arises from the religious observances of both Mussulmans and Hindoos, which make washing an inseparable accompaniment of prayer. As works of art and taste they are eminently beautiful, but they are strangely deficient in any mechanical aids for raising the water. No means are used but the small brazen lotee which every body carries, or at most an earthen jar or skin, the former of which is let down by a long string from the top of one of the galleries, while the other must be carried down to the water's edge and brought up again on the head or back. There is indeed a rude pulley at the top, but this is only used in irrigating the fields, and to bring up the large leathern bucket which is drawn by oxen.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

NEEMUCH TO BARODA.

*Neemuch—Character of Rajpoots and Bheels—Good effects of British rule—Boras—Confirmation—Pertaubghur—Manner of collecting Opium—Heat, and parched state of the Country—Festival of the Hoolee—Bheel Huts—Palace of Banswarra—Murder of Female Infants—Visit from the Rawul—Jain Temple—Sham-fight of Bheels—Visit from the Raja of Barreah—Dreadful Famine—Brinjarrees.*

February 25.—From Neemhaira to Neemuch is between seventeen and eighteen miles, over a more open and rather better cultivated country. Neemuch itself differs in no conspicuous respect from any of the other large cantonments of the Bengal army. It is a stationary camp of thatched bungalows and other buildings, open on all sides, and surrounded by a fine plain for the performance of military evolutions. The soldiers are employed in building a sort of fort, as a shelter to the women, children, and stores, in time of need. There is a fine house here built by Sir David Ochterlony, and well furnished, but which he has never occupied. These buildings, with the surrounding slip of Meidân, constitute the entire British territory in this neighbourhood, the small town of Neemuch, and most of the surrounding country, belonging to Sindia. The cantonment itself is in fact on his ground, but was sold or ceded by him, though with considerable reluctance, at the last peace. Not even Swabia, or the Palatinate, can offer a more chequered picture of interlaced sovereignties than Meywar, and indeed all Malwah, of which Meywar, in common parlance, is always reckoned a part. In the

heart of the territory which on our English maps bears Sindia's colour, are many extensive districts belonging to Holkar, Ameer Khân, the Raja of Kotah, &c.; and here scarcely any two villages together belong to the same sovereign. Sindia, however, though all this is usually reckoned beyond his boundary, has the lion's share. Never was an arrangement better calculated to ensure protection and impunity to robbers, even if there had not been abundance of jungle and inaccessible rocks, inhabited by a race (the Bheels) whose avowed profession, from the remotest antiquity, has been plunder. The presence of a powerful army in the midst of such a territory, under officers anxious and interested in the maintenance of good order, has of course contributed greatly to repress these disorders, and must, as I should apprehend, be regarded as a real benefit and blessing to the country by all its peaceable and industrious inhabitants.

I was very hospitably entertained at Neemuch by Captain Macdonald, political agent for this part of India, and brother to Major Macdonald Kinneir, whose travels in Asia were published some years ago. He was a long time Aide-de-camp and secretary to Sir John Malcolm. I derived much valuable information from him respecting the route to Bombay, which is all under his controul, and which he had himself surveyed and laid down in a new direction,—the route to Saugor,—the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring countries, and their rulers. There was no doubt of the route to Saugor (which, in my anxiety to rejoin my wife and children, I had still a great hankering after,) through Bundelcund and Mirzapoor being perfectly safe and practicable, though I should latterly find the heat very oppressive in marching, and almost intolerable in a palanqueen. Nor, indeed, did it appear that there were means for laying a Dâk in that direction, so that I could not hope to arrive on the river till the 20th or 21st of April. As to the facilities of proceeding from Mirzapoor by water, I found two opposite statements; some maintaining that the passage might, by the help of the stream, be made in six weeks; while one officer,

who said he had himself performed it, declared that it would, from the delay occasioned by the southern monsoon, occupy at least two months or ten weeks, even supposing, which was not always to be expected, that the Moorshedabad river was open, and that I was spared the detour by Chundna and the Sunderbunds, which would make three weeks more. On the whole, unless I determined to go by Dâk from Benares to Calcutta, a measure not to be adopted in April or May without real necessity, I found that I should gain but little time by giving up Bombay, while by doing so, the sacrifice of probable usefulness and future convenience which I should make would be very great. I therefore made up my mind, though with a heavy heart, to go on, in the hope that a kind Providence would still continue to watch over those dear objects to meet whom in safety, after my long absence, was at present my chief earthly wish. I determined, however, on relinquishing my visit to Mhow, because Captain Macdonald assured me both that the earlier in April I left the hot country of Guzerat the better, and also that after the middle of that month I should find considerable difficulty in obtaining a passage by sea from Surat to Bombay.

The character of the Rajpoots, and their Government, Captain Macdonald represented in unfavourable terms. The people who are grievously oppressed, and have been, till very lately, engaged in incessant war, have the vices of slaves added to those of robbers, with no more regard to truth than the natives of our own provinces, exceeding them in drunkenness, fondness for opium, and sensuality, while they have a blood-thirstiness from which the great mass of Hindoos are very far removed. Their courage, however, and the gallant efforts they made to defend their territories against the Maharattas, deserve high praise; and some effects of a favourable nature have been produced among them by the intercourse which they have had with the English. The specimens of our nation which they have hitherto seen, have, on the whole, been very favourable. None of the King's regiments have yet

been sent here, and few Europeans of any description except officers. They have, therefore, seen little of the drunkenness and violence of temper which have made the natives of our own provinces at once fear and despise a Feringee soldier, and they still, Captain Macdonald says, admire us more and wonder more at the difference of wisdom, morals, and policy, which they perceive between us and them, than any other people with whom he has had intercourse in India. And he is of opinion that their present state of feeling affords by no means an unfavourable soil for the labours of a missionary.

The Bheels were regarded both by him and the other officers with whom I conversed, as unquestionably the original inhabitants of the country, and driven to their present fastnesses and their present miserable way of life by the invasion of those tribes, wherever they may have come from, who profess the religion of Brahma. This the Rajpoots themselves, in this part of India, virtually allow, it being admitted in the traditional history of most of their principal cities and fortresses, that they were founded by such or such Bheel chiefs, and conquered from them by such and such children of the Sun. Their manners are described as resembling, in very many respects, those of the Rajmahal Puharrees. And, thieves and savages as they are, I found that the officers with whom I conversed, thought them on the whole a better race than their conquerors. Their word is more to be depended on, they are of a franker and livelier character, their women are far better treated and enjoy more influence, and though they shed blood without scruple in cases of deadly feud, or in the regular way of a foray, they are not vindictive or inhospitable under other circumstances, and several British officers have, with perfect safety, gone hunting and fishing into their country, without escort or guide, except what these poor savages themselves cheerfully furnished for a little brandy. This is the more touching, since on this frontier nothing has been done for them, and they have been treated, I now found, with unmingled severity. In the South, where Sir

John Malcolm could carry every thing in his own way, he raised a corps out of their number, which he placed under the command of their own chiefs, and subjected to just as much discipline as a wild people were likely to bear, and as was necessary for the nature of the service in which they were to be employed. He also secured them the peaceable possession of a certain portion of their lands which had been depopulated by the Pindarrees, obtaining for them a freedom from taxes for a sufficient number of years to make it worth their while to acquire industrious habits. In short, he proceeded in nearly the same manner, and with full as much success, as Cleveland did with the Puharrees.

In this part of India nothing of the kind has been done; they have, indeed, had facilities held out to them to enter into our local corps, but these corps are under the same severe discipline and exact drill with the regular regiments, which it is idle to suppose that a savage would endure. Though there is waste land in abundance, no effectual measures have been taken to persuade the princes of the country to allow or induce the Bheels to settle in it, and as these poor people themselves complain, we punish them for robbing while we give them no means of earning their subsistence in an honest way.

The difficulties, indeed, which the English Residents have to encounter in their attempts to improve the condition either of Bheels or Hindoos, are in this country very great. All interference in the internal concerns of the petty sovereigns who are the Company's feudatories, is naturally viewed with a jealous eye by the native rulers themselves, and except in the way of advice or indirect influence, is, in all ordinary cases, discouraged by the Supreme Government. The Rajas of these states are the most ignorant and degraded of men, incompetent to judge of their own true interests, and uninfluenced by any other motive which might induce them to consult the happiness of their people.

The Ranah of Oodeypoor, in addition to the circumstances of his character which I have already detailed, is surrounded and

governed by minions of the most hateful description, who drain his treasury, force him to contract new debts, and squeeze his people to the utmost. The heir apparent of Pertaubghur, who had till lately been the efficient sovereign of the country, is now in confinement by order of the English Government, in consequence of his having committed, in about three years' time, no fewer than six murders with his own hands, or, at least, sanctioned them by his presence. His father, the Raja, who was entirely unable to restrain him but pleaded with many tears for his liberty, is a poor old man, past every thing except a strong affection for his unworthy son, and a spirit of avarice which seems to know no bounds, and will not be convinced that he would increase his revenues, eventually, by allowing his waste lands to be cultivated at easy rents. The Raja of Banswarra is a very young and weak prince, and the Rajas of Lunewarra and Doongerpoor are, in fact, without power to do good; the territories of the former never having recovered from the cruelty of the Pindarrees, and, consequently, are become jungle from one end to the other, and the poor prince of Doongerpoor being in the hands of a party of rebels who have shut up themselves and him in a strong castle, where they are at this moment besieged by a body of the Bombay army, who, finding themselves unequal to their work, have applied for help to Neemuch.

In such a state of society, and in a country previously reduced by Maharattas and Pindarrees to a state of universal misery, such as no country besides has known, little can be done in the way of advice or influence by young men stationed at different courts, and obliged to apply for directions to a Government 1000 miles off. It is even probable that too frequent or too arbitrary interference would defeat its own ends, and that such a close connection as subsists with Oude, for instance, would, as in that case, by no means add to the happiness of the people whom we seek to benefit. But that for these poor Bheels, many advantages might be even now obtained, and that it would be a wise as well as a most humane policy to secure them as our allies, in any future struggles

in this part of India, I am fully persuaded; as well as that, had Sir John Malcolm been made Governor, as he desired to be, of all Central India, this point, and many others advantageous to the people of the country, would have been, long since, secured permanently. No difficulties could be greater than those which he met with in Southern Malwah, and yet that country, from a mere wilderness, is now, I am told, a garden. There are, indeed, few such Governors as Sir John Malcolm to be found, but any intelligent Government established with distinct powers, and the advantages of local information, in the centre of India, would, I am convinced, be a great blessing to the country, and a security to our dominion here, so great as hardly to be appreciated.

Meantime it is satisfactory to find that, though our influence has not done all the good which might be desired or expected, that which has been done is really considerable. Except from these poor Bheels, and from the few gangs of marauders which still lurk in different parts of the country, that country is now at peace, and how slight are these dangers, and how easy to be borne are the oppressions of their native Rajas, in comparison with the annual swarm of Pindarree horsemen, who robbed, burned, ravished, enslaved, tortured, and murdered over the whole extent of territory from the Runn to the Bay of Bengal? While their inroads are remembered, to say nothing of Jeswunt Rao Holkar and Ameer Khân, the coming of the English cannot but be considered as a blessing. And I only hope that we may not destroy the sort of reverence and aweful regard with which, I believe, our nation is still looked upon here.

Captain Macdonald agreed with Dr. Gibb in speaking of the Mussulman Governors as wiser and better than the Hindoos; their religion, in fact, is better, and their education is something superior. But it should seem, by what he says, that Sindia's territories, and Holkar's, are also better governed than those of these Western Princes, whose misfortunes and long-continued degradation seem to have done any thing but taught them wisdom. Sindia

is, himself, a man by no means deficient in talents or good intentions; but his extensive and scattered territories have never been under any regular system of controul, and his Maharatta nobles, though they too are described as a better race than the Rajpoots, are robbers almost by profession, and only suppose themselves to thrive when they are living at the expence of their neighbours. Still, from his well-disciplined army and numerous artillery, his government has a stability which secures peace, at least, to the districts under his own eye; and as the Pindarrees feared to provoke him, and even professed to be his subjects, his country has retained its ancient wealth and fertility to a greater degree than most other parts of Central India. The territories of Holkar were as badly off as any, but for their restoration they had the advantages of Sir John Malcolm's advice and commanding influence. The ministers who have ruled the country during the young Raja's minority, are of his choice; the system of administering justice and collecting the revenue, recommended by him, has been preserved, and, by all which I can learn, the beautiful valley of the Nerbuddah has enjoyed, during the last ten years, a greater degree of peace and prosperity than it perhaps ever did before within the limits of Hindoo history.

Besides the Rajpoots, Bheels, and Jains, a good many Jâts are scattered up and down these provinces, chiefly as cultivators of the land. There are also more Mussulmans than I expected to find, of whom the majority are of Patan race and of the Sunnite sect. The smaller, but by far the wealthier and more industrious party, are here called Boras,—a sect whose opinions are but imperfectly ascertained. They approach nearest to the Sheeahs, with a tendency towards Sooffeism, and are believed by Captain Macdonald to be a remnant of the old sect of Hussunus, or as they are called in European History, "Assassins." They have nothing, however, at present of the sanguinary and warlike temper which distinguished the followers of the "Old Man of the Mountain." They are in general very peaceable and orderly

merchants and tradesmen, and have considerable influence and privileges in most of the cities of Central India, agreeing far better with both Jains and Rajpoots than their fiery Sunnite rivals. Between these last and them, however, blood has been lately shed. A new Sunnite teacher in the city of Mundissore, a few weeks since, thought proper to distinguish himself by a furious attack on the Sheeite heresy from the pulpit, and by exhorting the true believers to cast out such wretches from dwelling among them. In consequence some wealthy Boras were insulted in the bazar by the Patans, and a fray ensued, in which the Boras, peaceable as they generally are, had the advantage. The Sunnite preacher was killed, but his body was buried by his friends with all the honours of martyrdom. The fray was again renewed, when the Patans killed several Boras and drove the rest from the place, declaring that they would pursue their advantage in all the neighbouring towns till the accursed were rooted from the earth. It ended in two companies of British sepoys being sent to keep the peace, and in the arresting of one or two ringleaders. Had not a large force been at hand, it is probable that a grand war would have begun between the parties in half the towns of Malwah; so easily is blood shed where all hands are armed and all laws feeble.

*February* 26.—I dined with Colonel Lumley, the Commandant of the station.

*February* 27.—I read prayers and preached in the drawing-room of Sir David Ochterlony's house to a congregation of nearly a hundred. I had eight communicants, and, which I did not expect, four applicants for confirmation, among whom was my host, Captain Macdonald.

*February* 28.—I sent off the tents and people at sun-rise, but Dr. Smith and I remained till night or rather morning, when we travelled in our palanqueens towards Pertaubghur. The weather had been really cold for several days, and this night there was a hard frost, a circumstance which I did not expect at this time of year and in this latitude. We are here, however, in one of the highest parts

of Malwah, all of which is considerably elevated above the sea. The height of the plain of Pertaubghur is reckoned at about 1700 feet, an altitude, however, hardly sufficient to account for the degree of cold which was felt. For us this was very pleasant and wholesome, but the opium crops and the fruit-trees were sad sufferers. Captain Macdonald says that Malwah suits most European garden-stuff well, but potatoes degenerate fast, and are of so small a size, that the natives after, in many instances, trying the experiment have ceased to cultivate them. He had some tolerable ones in his own garden, some fine roses just come into bloom, and a good show of strawberries not quite ripe.

*March* 1.—We arrived at Pertaubghur, a small city, the residence of a petty Raja, with a battalion of sepoys cantoned in the neighbourhood. The Commandant, Major Hamilton, shewed us much hospitality and kindness, and from him, as being placed in the immediate neighbourhood of the Bheels, I obtained a good deal of the information which I have, in the last few pages, communicated respecting them. Pertaubghur contains little or nothing worth seeing. The country round it is undulating and fertile, with extensive fields of poppies and wheat, and a good many scattered peepul-trees. The groves of fruit-trees seem to have been all ruined by the Pindarrees, and, in spite of its fertility, all beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the large towns is jungle. The Raja has the privilege of coining money, grounded, as he pretends, but as seems very doubtful, on a grant of one of the Mogul emperors. He was allowed to retain it when he became feudatory to the British Government, but has so repeatedly abused it by fraudulently altering the standard, that he probably will not be suffered to strike money much longer. Ornaments of gold, silver, and enamel are to be procured here ; I saw a necklace and bracelets of gold embossed with the twenty-four avatars of Indian mythology, which were very curious and prettily wrought.

*March* 2.—I was joined by nine more horsemen of Captain Smith's local regiment, making the number of my escort eighteen.

I had not asked for any increase of guards, but Colonel Lumley told me that my road lay too near the seat of war in Doongurpoor, and through a country at all times so unsettled, that he did not like to send me away with a smaller number. Yet the road takes us, comparatively, through a far better country than that which used to be followed, and which led directly through the gorge of the mountains at Gulliakote into a very dismal wilderness of several days' journey, so much infested by tygers that no travellers could safely move before sun-rise. The consequence of a contempt of this precaution Major Hamilton told me in an affecting story. One of his acquaintance, who was marching with a body of troops between Gulliakote and Luneewarra, called on a Bheel villager to be his guide through the wood very early one morning. The Bheel remonstrated, observing that it was not the custom of the country to march before day-light, and that it was dangerous to do so. The officer, supposing this to be the mere pretext of laziness, was positive, and threatened him if he did not go on. The man said nothing more, but took his shield and sword and walked on along the narrow path overhung with long grass and bamboos: The officer followed at the head of his men, and had moved slowly half asleep on his saddle for about five miles, when he heard a hideous roar, and saw a very large tyger spring past him so close that he almost brushed his horse. The poor Bheel lifted up his sword and shield, but was down in an instant under the animal's paws, who turned round with him in his mouth, growling like a cat over a mouse, and looked the officer in the face. He did what could be done, and with his men attacked the tyger, whom they wounded so severely that he dropped his prey. But the first blow had done its work effectually, and the poor man's scull was mashed in such a manner as, literally, to be all in pieces. The officer told Major Hamilton that from that day forwards this scene was seldom absent from his dreams, and with the least illness or fever he had always a return of the vision of the tyger, with the unfortunate man in his jaws, whom his imprudence had sacrificed.

*March* 3.—We went this morning about seventeen miles to a small and very poor village named Chompna, whither supplies had been sent beforehand by the Raja of Pertaubghur, who was himself at Deeoleear, a fort at some distance, but from whom we had a civil message. The country is pretty, with a mixture of wood and arable land which is by no means disagreeable. The trees are either dhâk or peepul, but near the villages are a few mangoes now in blossom. The hills are low, but very rocky, the valleys and level ground of a rich and deep though light black loam, which, under a good government, would soon be a garden. The villagers, however, are among the poorest that I have seen, and reminded me in dress and squalor, though not quite in the outward signs of ill-health, of the wretched inhabitants of the Terrai of Rohilcund. These poor people complained bitterly of the injury done to their poppies by the frost, which was again severe last night. Their wheat is happily very promising, but it is on the opium that they chiefly depend to pay their rents. The heavy transit duties imposed by the different Rajas on the exportation and importation of corn are very ruinous to agriculture. In Guzerat the inhabitants of this fertile region would, generally, have a ready market for their wheat, and during this present year it bears a price in the neighbourhood of Baroda treble to what it bears at Pertaubghur, being twenty-seven seer the rupee at the latter place, and at the former, if we are rightly informed, nine the rupee, a difference which, with an open and easy communication, could not possibly exist unless the intermediate duties were exorbitant. If this is the case, it would be, surely, a fair subject of interference on the part of the Company's Government, as both Guzerat and Malwah would be gainers by a free interchange of their commodities. It should seem, however, either that these tolls have been lowered, or that the present high price has of itself been a sufficient stimulus to prompt men to carry corn southwards, inasmuch as, though we had as yet seen none, we met or overtook, in the course of our onward journey, a great many parties of

brinjarrees and waggoners, who were either taking corn from Malwah, or were going thither from Guzerat to purchase it. The people, however, complained that even now the profit they should make would, to use their own phrase, "not be enough to fill their bellies."

One of Dr. Smith's saeeses died to-day. He was taken so ill in his march to this place as to be unable to proceed. I sent an elephant and some people for him, who found him insensible, and he remained so till he expired, soon after his arrival. The cholera had shewed itself in several instances at Pertaubghur, but this was apparently nothing of the kind. He was a Hindoo, and was burned by his companions in the course of the evening.

The gram, "dhana," had just been cut before this nipping wind and frost arrived,—happily, as the suwarrs told me, or that also must have suffered.

We met to-day a considerable number of bullocks laden with an intoxicating drug called "Mhowa," a flower, the juice of which they ferment and take in various forms. It grows on a large tree, and drops off about this time of year. The part which they use is the round bulb, or calyx, from which the leaves grow. The colour is a pale pink. These men were bringing their loads from Doongurpoor to Pertaubghur, against the great period of the Hoolee, when all sorts of indulgence and excitation are in request.

*March* 4.—We marched seven coss, or about sixteen miles, to Amba Ramba, or, as it is generally called, Ambera. The country during this march becomes more rugged and woody, but is still tolerably well-cultivated; and after passing a low but rocky chain of hills, I was glad to see that the people were at work in their poppy-grounds, and that the frost, to all appearance, had not extended far in this direction. The opium is collected by making two or three superficial incisions in the seed-vessel of the poppy, whence a milky juice exudes, which is carefully collected. The time of cutting them seems to be as soon as the petals of the flower fall off, which is about the present season. Sugar-mills are

seen in every village, but no canes are now growing. The crops of barley and wheat are very thin, and the whole country bears marks of drought, though not by any means so decidedly and dismally as Jyepoor.

Ambera is a large village on the slope of a hill, with a nullah not far from it now standing in pools, and some large trees. At some little distance it is enclosed by rocks fringed with wood, and the scene would be beautiful if it were less parched and sun-burnt. The morning had been again cold, but it was very hot during the day. We must now, indeed, expect to be more or less inconvenienced by heat, and may reckon ourselves fortunate in the frosty mornings which have so long favoured us. The people of Ambera were very noisy all day and great part of the night, in the merriment of the Hoolee. In the course of the evening a man came to us who said he was a Charun from Cattywar. He had not his distinctive dress on, which I was curious to see. I told him, therefore, to bring his "burra pugree," or large turban, and that he should have a present. He promised to do so, but never returned, and had, possibly, laid claim to a character which did not belong to him.

I was to-day talking with Dr. Smith on the remarkably diminutive stature of the women all over India,—a circumstance extending, with very few exceptions, to the female children of Europeans by native mothers; and observed that one could hardly suppose such little creatures to be the mothers or daughters of so tall men as many of the sepoys are. He answered, that the women whom we saw in the streets and fields, and those with whom only, under ordinary circumstances, Europeans could form connexions, were of the lowest caste, whose growth was stinted from an early age by poverty and hard labour, and whose husbands and brothers were also, as I might observe, of a very mean stature. That the sepoys, and respectable natives in general, kept their women out of our way as much as possible; but that he, as a medical man, had frequently had women of the better sort brought to him for

advice, whose personal advantages corresponded with those of their husbands, and who were of stature equal to the common run of European females.

*March* 5.—About two miles beyond Ambera the road descends a steep pass overhung with trees, into an extensive forest which we traversed for fifteen miles to Chotee Sirwan, a small station of police sepoys, near which our tents were pitched. The tract, however, is not entirely without inhabitants. Soon after descending from the ghât we came to a Bheel hut, whose owner we engaged, by the promise of a reward, to guide us through the jungle, and afterwards passed two or three little hamlets of the same nation, with small patches of cultivation round each. The huts were all of the rudest description, of sticks wattled with long grass, and a thatch of the same, with boughs laid over it to keep it from being blown away. They were crowded close together, as if for mutual protection, but with a small thatched enclosure adjoining for their cattle. Their fields were also neatly fenced in with boughs, a practice not common in India, but here I suppose necessary to keep off the deer and antelopes from their corn. The soil is poor and stony, and few of the trees of large size. There is, however, a better supply of water than I expected, none of the nullahs being perfectly dry, even in this thirsty year, but standing in pools, as Bruce describes the rivers in Abyssinia. The whole country, indeed, and what I saw of the people, reminded me of the account which he has given of the Shangalla. All the Bheels whom we saw to-day were small slender men, less broad-shouldered, I think, and with faces less Celtic, than the Puharrees of Rajmahal, nor did I think them quite so dark as these last. They were not so naked as the two whom I met at Umeerghur, having a coarse and dirty cotton cloth wrapped round the head and shoulders, and a sort of plaited petticoat round their loins, of the same material. Two of them had rude swords and shields, the remainder had all bows and arrows resembling those which I had seen before, except that the arrow-heads, not being intended for striking

fish, were fixed. The bow-strings were very neatly made of bamboo-slips plaited. Their beards and hair were not at all woolly, but thick and dishevelled, and their whole appearance very dirty and ill-fed. They spoke cheerfully, however, their countenances were open, and the expression of their eyes and lips good-tempered. Few of them appeared to know any thing of Hindoostanee.

At Chotee Sirwan no supplies were to be obtained, except water from a nullah at some distance, and boughs for the elephants and camels. Some tradesmen from the Tannah at Ninnore had brought supplies for sale sufficient for the day, but nothing further; and I was again, with reluctance, but from sheer necessity, compelled to give orders for continuing our march on the Sunday. The weather was extremely hot during the greater part of the day, but this is obviously among the most advantageous months for passing the jungle. The long grass is now burnt, or eaten down by the cattle,—the marshes are nearly dry,—and those prevailing causes of disease removed, which, at other times of the year, make this tract no less deadly than the Terrai. Even the tygers are less formidable now that their covert is so much diminished. The prospect, nevertheless, is dismal: nobody can say

"Merry it is in the good green wood!"

The rocks seem half calcined, the ground is either entirely bare and black, or covered with a withered rustling grass; the leaves which remain on the trees are dry and sapless, crackling in the hand like parchment; and the bare scorched boughs of, by far, the greater number give a wintry appearance to the prospect, which is strangely contrasted with the fierce glow of the atmosphere, and a sun which makes the blood boil and the temples throb. A great proportion of the trees are teak, but all of small size. There are some fine peepuls, which retain their leaves in the moist dingles by the river side, and the pink blossom of the dhâk, and a few scat-

tered acacias, the verdure of which braves even the blast of an Arabian desert, redeem the prospect from the character of unmingled barrenness. Still it is sufficiently wild and dreary. Abdullah observed, and I was struck with the accuracy of the comparison, that the huts, the form of the hills, and the general appearance of the country and people, greatly resembled the borders of Circassia and Georgia.

This being the great day of Hoolee, all my Hindoo servants came to pay their compliments, and bring presents of red powder and sugar-plums. The event was rather costly to me, as I was obliged to make presents in return. But it is the "dustoor," and who in India can transgress that unwritten and common law of the land?

Cashiram and the servants were very full of two adventures which had befallen them in their night's march. The first was, that they heard people for some time running among the bushes near them, as if watching to seize the camels, but that on one man looking out and seeing the sepoys, all appeared to take flight. The other was that a very large tyger crossed the path a little before day-break, so near that they could not have mistaken any other animal for him, particularly as the moon shone bright. He stopped as if to look at them for a moment, and then passed quietly, or as they said, "civilly" on, as if neither courting nor fearing an encounter. All the suwarrs were very full of the change which had taken place in this country. "Five years ago," one of them said, "a thousand men could hardly have forced their way through these jungles and their inhabitants, now I was safe with sixty." I asked if small parties were safe? and they answered "by no means;" that "the Bheels were as great robbers and murderers as ever where they had the power," but that "they were very much afraid of the red coats." I forgot to mention before, that, on our first approaching the Bheel villages, a man ran from the nearest hut to the top of a hill, and gave a shrill shout or scream which we heard repeated from the furthest hamlet in sight, and again

from two others which we could not see. I asked the meaning of this, and my suwarrs assured me that these were their signals to give the alarm of our coming, our numbers, and that we had horse with us. By this means they knew at once whether it was adviseable to attack us, to fly, or to remain quiet, while if there were any of them of their number who had particular reasons for avoiding an interview with the troops and magistrates of the lowlands, they had thus fair warning given them to keep out of the way. This sounds like a description of Rob Roy's country, but these poor Bheels are far less formidable enemies than the old Mac Gregors. In the afternoon we walked up to one of the nearest hills, where were some huts of this unfortunate nation. They were all shut up, and an old man who came to meet us, said that they were empty. He himself, and a young man, who was, he said, his nephew, remained alone in the place; all the rest were with their cattle in the jungle.

Dr. Smith, who has an excellent ear, and knows Hindoostanee well, was able to converse with these people more readily than any of our party, and said that it was chiefly in accent and tone that their language differed from the dialect usually spoken in Malwah. They speak in a drawling sort of recitative, which Dr. Smith imitated, and found them catch his meaning much better than they otherwise could. The old man said that they had suffered much from want of rain, that their crops had been very scanty, that there was little pasture left for their cattle, and what was worst of all, they expected the pools of the neighbouring nullah to dry up before the end of the hot weather. When that happened, he said with much resignation—"they must go down to Doongurpoor, or some other place where there was water, and do as well as they could." Both the men were evidently in fear, and even trembled; they shewed an anxiety that we should not go near their huts, and were unwilling to trust themselves with us as far as our tents, though they perfectly understood my promise that they should have something to eat. I pressed the young man

to shoot one of his arrows at a mark, but he had only two with him, and he looked at us all round as if he feared we wanted to make him part with his means of defence. I succeeded, however, in re-assuring him; he shot at and hit a tree about 100 yards off, and on my praising his skill, let fly his other arrow, which went straight enough, but struck the ground near the root. He held his bow and arrow in the English manner, differently from the Hindoostanees, who place the arrow on what we should call the wrong side, and draw the string with the thumb; his arrows were not ill-made, but his bow was what a "British bowman" would call a very slight one. The applause which he received, and the security which he now felt, made him familiar. He sate on the ground to shew us the manner in which his countrymen shoot from amid the long grass, holding the bow with their feet, and volunteered aiming at different objects, till I told him there was no need of more trials; I asked him what game he usually killed, but apprehend that he misunderstood me, for he said, with some eagerness of manner, "that he only used his bow in self-defence." He now was very willing to come to our camp, and his uncle followed him. I gave them three anas between them, for which they were very thankful. One of the suwarrs told me that the guide in the morning expressed much delight and some surprise at my keeping my word with him, in giving him the promised bukshish, a pretty clear proof how these poor people are usually dealt with.

The police thanna consists of three or four huts, with a small stage elevated on four poles for a sentry to stand on, so like those used by the Cossacks on the Circassian frontier, as to add greatly to the resemblance of scenery discovered by Abdullah. I again, in the course of the evening, longed for my wife to see these things with me; and though, after all, this is a country into which it is not likely that I should by choice take her, yet I know there is much in it which would amuse and interest her.

*March* 6.—We proceeded this morning about seven miles, through a very wild forest of rock, wood, dingles, and dry ravines,

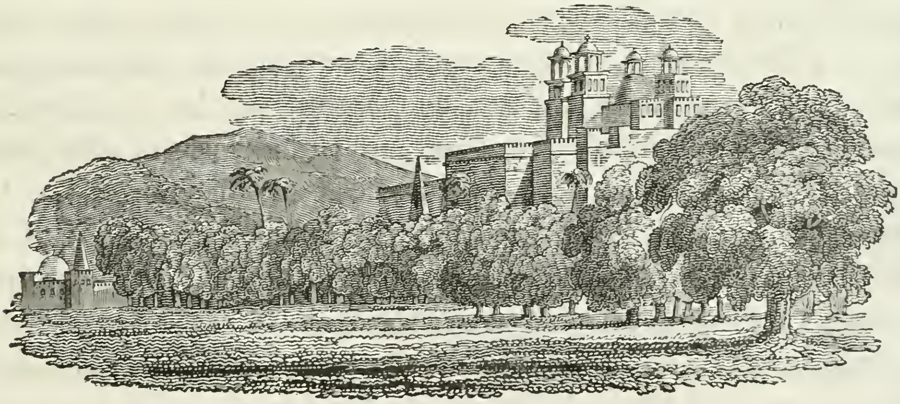
to Panchelwas, a small village inhabited by a mixed population of Bheels and Rajpoots, and under the government of the Ranah of Banswarra. To this place we were told was a direct road over the hills from Neemuch, which would have saved us at least eight miles, and which, I found on reference to Sir John Malcolm's work, is laid down in his map of Central India. It is so rugged, however, and so infested by the unsubdued tribes of Bheels, that few travellers, except beggars and pilgrims, go that way. The houses of Panchelwas are built in the same manner with those of the Bheels, but are larger and neater; and there were one or two shops, and the work-yard of a wainwright, which shewed our return to something like civilization. The carts here are very strong and low. The wheels have no spokes, but are made of the solid circles of the stem of a large tree, like those of children's carts in England. They have no axletrees of the kind used in Europe, but the wheels are placed below the carriage, and secured like those of wheelbarrows.

The country, though still as wild as wild could be, had improved both in greenness and beauty during this morning's ride, and, on the other side of Panchelwas, became extremely pretty. We crossed a river, the Mhye, which, notwithstanding its distance from the sea, though shallow, was still broad, and not stagnant, with rocks on each side crowned with wood and some ruined temples, while the hills were not only greener and better wooded than any we had lately seen, but assumed a certain degree of consequence of size and outline. At last, our path still winding through the wood, but under the shade of taller and wider spreading trees, and over a soil obviously less burnt and barren, we came to a beautiful pool, with some ruined temples, and a stately flight of steps leading to it, overhung by palms, peepuls, and tamarinds; and beyond it, on the crown of a woody hill, the towers of a large castle. This was the palace of Banswarra, and on advancing a little further the town came in sight at its foot, with its pagodas, ramparts, and orchards.

I was much surprised to find in such a situation so large and handsome a place, of which I knew nothing before, except as one of those states which have been noted in India for the wildness and poverty of their inhabitants, and for their abominable custom of murdering the greater part of their female infants. This cruel and most unnatural sacrifice it has long been the endeavour of the British Government to induce its vassals and allies to abandon. Major Walker, when Resident at Baroda, thought he had succeeded with the greater part of them, but it is believed by most officers on this side of the country that the number saved was very small in proportion to that of the victims. Unhappily pride, poverty, and avarice are in league with superstition to perpetuate these horrors. It is a disgrace for a noble family to have a daughter unmarried, and still worse to marry her to a person of inferior birth, while they have neither the means nor the inclination to pay such portions as a person of their own rank would expect to receive with them. On the other hand, the sacrifice of a child is believed, surely with truth, to be acceptable to "the evil powers," and the fact is certain that, though the high-born Rajpoots have many sons, very few daughters are ever found in their palaces, though it is not easy to prove any particular instance of murder, or to know the way in which the victims are disposed of. The common story of the country, and probably the true one, for it is a point on which, except with the English, no mystery is likely to be observed, is that a large vessel of milk is set in the chamber of the lying-in woman, and the infant, if a girl, immediately plunged into it. Sir John Malcolm, however, who supposes the practice to be on the decline, was told that a pill of opium was usually given. Through the influence of Major Walker it is certain that many children were spared, and previous to his departure from Guzerat, he received the most affecting compliment which a good man could receive, in being welcomed at the gate of the palace, on some public occasion, by a procession of girls of high rank who owed their lives to him, and who came to kiss his clothes and

throw wreaths of flowers over him as their deliverer and second father. Since that time, however, things have gone on very much in the old train, and the answers made by the chiefs to any remonstrances of the British officers is, "Pay our daughter's marriage portions and they shall live!" Yet these very men, rather than strike a cow, would submit to the cruellest martyrdom. Never may my dear wife and daughters forget how much their sex is indebted to Christianity!

The walls of Banswarra include a large circuit, as much, I should think, as those of Chester; but in the one, as well as the other instance, a good deal of space is taken up with gardens. There are some handsome temples and an extensive bazar, in which I saw a considerable number of Mussulmans. We took up our abode without the walls in a little old palace, with a pretty garden and a large cistern of water, now dry, which has been appropriated



by the Rawul to the use of Captain Macdonald. From this house is an advantageous view of the city and palace, the trees are finer, and the view more luxuriant than any thing, Gungrowr always excepted, which we have seen since our leaving Bhurtpoor.

The Rawul came to call on me in the afternoon with his Khamdar, and a considerable train of vassals, whom he presented to

me as a highland chief would have done the gentlemen of his clan, and describing them in the same manner as the Thakoors of his house. They were mostly good-looking stout men, of a rustic but manly figure. The Rawul himself is a small, thin, and effeminate young man, of no prepossessing appearance. He was plainly dressed, except that he had a very handsome sword, a most voluminous red turban, and great gold anklets. His minister was a thin shrewd looking person, with a very squeaking voice, a turban as was fitting, of inferior dignity to his master's, but with large pearls in his ears. I embraced the Rawul and his minister, and assigned them chairs on my right and left hand. The Thakoors all sat down on the floor, with their shields before them in the Rajpoot fashion, and a crowd of servants and people of all descriptions, among whom, in order to do me honour, nearly half the sepoys of my escort pressed, formed a semicircle of standers by behind them. Abdullah acted, as usual, as master of the ceremonies and interpreter, neither Dr. Smith nor I being versed in the technical and complimentary language of a court. At length, however, the conversation became more general, and they expressed much curiosity concerning the war in Ava. They had heard of Sir A. Campbell's success, and the capture of 300 pieces of cannon, but were anxious to learn the further progress of the campaign. I talked to them about Sir John Malcolm, of whom they spoke with great respect and apparent regard, and expressed great joy on hearing that he was likely again to come out to India. They conversed readily enough, more so than I had expected, about Doongurpoor and its war, though, as the Rawul said in answer to my question, if it was not so? that its Raja was his kinsman. "And Oodeypoor also?" said I. His countenance evidently brightened as he answered in the affirmative, as if he derived consequence in his own opinion and that of others by his relationship to so illustrious a house.

I now thought the visit had been long enough, and ordered pawn and attar to be brought. To my surprise, however, the

Rawul kept his seat, called for his "kalean," or Persian pipe, smoked some whiffs, then began talking again. A long whispering conversation ensued between him and his minister, and while I was wondering in what all this would end, he begged my acceptance of a horse, which he said he had brought for me. I was a good deal annoyed, but endeavoured to parry the offer as well as I could. I first pleaded that such things were unnecessary where there was good-will, and that I valued the almonds and sugar-plums which he had presented on first entering the room, as his gift, as much as an elephant coming from a person of less distinguished family. He bowed and smiled, but said, "If you refuse the horse, how can I believe you like to receive a smaller present?" I then said I should accept the horse with gratitude, and should be much obliged to the Raja to keep it for me till I returned that way, since in my journey between Bombay and Calcutta, I should go by sea, and be unable to take it with me. "Oh," said the Raja, "when you return I shall have more and finer horses for you, but you must not refuse to take this now." In short I was obliged to yield, and the horse was brought, a tolerable grey poney, but old and not in the best condition, though quite as good as one generally meets among the Rajpoot nobles. He now took leave, and I accompanied him to the gate, the sepoys presenting arms, which seemed to please him much. Knowing, however, the poverty as well as the antiquity of his family, I could not bear the idea of taking the horse without making a return, and after some deliberation, for it was not easy to find any thing I could spare which he would like, I sent him the glass lamp which used to hang in our cabin on board ship, both as a pretty thing in itself, and one which he had, unquestionably, never seen before, at the same time that it accorded with the habits of his nation, who all burn lamps at night. I sent it by my servants, with an apology for my not returning his visit from my anxiety to proceed on my journey. He returned a very civil message, and if I am to believe the report of my messengers, was well pleased with my present.

Its intrinsic value, I should guess, was fully equal to that which I had received from him.

The Rawul said his age was just twenty-one, and he had been on the musnud since the year 1816. Both he and his minister spoke much of the oppression and cruelty formerly exercised on them by the Maharattas and Pindarrees. They said that ours was a good Government for peace, and putting down thieves, but complained of the opium laws, and asked where all the opium went which was monopolized. They listened with much attention to Dr. Smith's account of the empire of China, and the quantity of opium which was consumed there, but were still more interested on his telling them that on my voyage from Bombay to Calcutta I must pass by Lanca, (the name given to Ceylon in the Hindoo books, and respecting which they have many extravagant legends.) They would scarcely believe him when he said that it was now under the British Government, and that he had been there, and asked eagerly "if the principal city was surrounded by a wall of solid gold?" He answered that this was an old tradition, but that they themselves knew that many things mentioned in old books had not their like on earth now; that Lanca was still a rich country, but not so fine as it had been represented, which seemed to satisfy them.

In the afternoon Dr. Smith strolled out by himself, and had some conversation with a few old men whom he had found under the shade of a tree. They seemed well satisfied with the present peaceable times, and answered his questions very readily about the internal politics of their country. The Khamdar, they said, was a Jain, and seemed to hold him cheap accordingly: with the Rawul they did not seem well pleased. He was twenty-one, they said, and yet not married, a circumstance always discreditable among the Hindoos, but here particularly so where it is a matter of much difficulty for girls of high blood to obtain suitable matches. We were objects of great curiosity in this place. A crowd was assembled all day before my gate, observing every movement within;

and when I walked in the evening I had as great a crowd after me as I have seen after a Persian ambassador, or other such outlandish person, in the streets of London.

During all the time of Hoolee drunkenness is common among the Hindoos, and our bearers had been for some days giving proof of it. To-night, however, they were so noisy after I was in bed, that I sent Abdullah to scold them. He brought back word that there was a dispute between them and some bunyans of the town about payment. On this I ordered all parties to my bed-side in order to judge between them, but by the way the adversaries agreed between themselves, and I heard no more of it.

*March* 7.—We went between eleven and twelve miles through a wild but pretty country, to a small village named Burodeea. We were guided by Bheels, and most of the people we met were of that nation, though the villagers themselves were Rajpoots. Supplies were scanty and obtained with some difficulty from five or six neighbouring hamlets. The place contains at present twenty-five families; it was, twenty years ago, a moderate-sized town, but was ruined by Ram Deen, one of the followers of Jeswunt Row Holkar, and among the worst of the many bad. He is now a pensioner of the British Government, having surrendered to them early in the last war, and is living in retirement in Hindostan.

I was told that no charge would be made for the wood, milk, and grass which had been furnished, and which were all the supplies which we had required. I gave, however, a rupee to the Zemindar, or Potail, a very fine young peasant, but who could scarcely speak a word of Hindoostanee. We walked in the evening through some small patches of cultivation, with jungle all round, and a pleasing prospect of high woody hills; there were a great many mhowah-trees, not yet in blossom, though they would be so, we were told, in a fortnight or three weeks. They nearly resemble the oak in size, form of the branches, and colour of the leaves. Of the mhowah and its uses a good account is given in Sir John Malcolm's Central India. Its flower, besides the intoxicating liquor

obtained from it by fermentation, when dried, nearly resembles a small raisin both in appearance and flavour. Its fruit, and the small pistachio nut which grows wild among these hills in great abundance, are the principal food of the wilder tribes of Bheels. The latter are said to be deleterious till roasted, or at all events they contain an oil so astringent as not to be eatable.

*March* 8.—A romantic road through a wood containing many fine trees, and displaying a reasonable shew of verdure, brought us, about seven miles, to a small but well-built village named Kalingera. A majority of the houses which we had seen in the territory of Banswarra, (I mean the Rajpoot houses, for the Bheel huts are wretched enough,) are extremely well-built and respectable, of large bricks, frequently two stories high, and, with their out-buildings, and in their general style, possessing much of the exterior of an English farm. Kalingera has also a sort of manor-house, not unlike some of the dismal-looking Zemindarree houses near Barrackpoor, the residence of a Thakoor, the hereditary chief of this place and a small district round it. Its most remarkable building, however, is a Jain temple, the largest and handsomest which I had yet seen, and which, being completely deserted, I had a tolerable opportunity to explore throughout. The entrance is under a sort of projecting porch by a flight of steps conducting to an open vestibule, supported by pillars, and covered by a dome. On each side of the entrance are some more steps, leading to an open verandah over the porch. To the right of the vestibule just mentioned is a small court, to its left a square hall, supported by pillars internally, and roofed with flat slabs of stone, laid across stone beams of unusual length, being twelve feet from pillar to pillar. Beyond the vestibule, and facing the entrance, I passed by an ascent of three steps into another square hall, also with a flat roof, but differing from the last as being open on the sides, and having a square platform, I apprehend intended for an altar, in the midst. To the right and left of this hall were others of the same size, but covered with domes; and beyond these, to

the extreme right and left, were sanctuaries of about twelve feet square, surmounted by high ornamented pyramids, with their door-places richly carved, and having, within, small altars like those in Roman Catholic churches, with vestiges of painting above them.

In the centre, and immediately opposite to the entrance, a dark vestibule led into a large square room also covered externally with a pyramid, and having within, in the middle, a sort of altar or throne of marble, on which were placed four idols in a sitting posture, also of marble and not ill carved. On either side of this apartment was a richly carved niche or small alcove, and beyond it, and still opposite to the entrance, another small vestibule led to an inner shrine about twelve feet square, also covered with a pyramid, having an altar at its farthest end, and a bas relief of Parisnâth, surrounded by several smaller sitting figures, over it. The details of this room, however, I only saw imperfectly. It had no light but what came through its door after traversing all the preceding apartments. It was very close and noisome, being full of bats which kept flapping against my face, and whose dung covered the floor of both rooms. Though the Thannadar of the village very civilly brought me paper, pen, and ink, he had no torches, and without them it was neither pleasant nor profitable to remain long in such a place, in a country where it was sure to be a harbour for all unclean and noxious animals. I could, however, by the light which I had, see enough to satisfy me that the arrangement of the figures was pretty similar to that which I had seen in the Jain temple at Benares.

From the dome-roofed apartments to the right and left of the hall which has the altar in it, a double verandah extends, surrounding a court in which the two sanctuaries which I have just described are enclosed; the verandah to the court being open and supported by pillars. The exterior one has no opening to the country, but internally has a number of narrow doors corresponding with the intercolumniations of the other. It is also surmounted externally

by a succession of small pyramids, and on its western side and immediately behind the central sanctuary, is another chapel of the same kind with this last, covered with a similar pyramid, and approached by a very elegant portico or vestibule of a square form, supported by six pillars and as many pilasters.

In the further shrine is an altar, and a large painting over it, much defaced, of a colossal head with a beard and flowing locks, and so far as can be judged, a very venerable expression of countenance. This, as well as I can recollect, is different from any thing which I saw at Benares, and may perhaps belong to some mystery which they did not think fit to disclose to persons of a different religion. The interior of the apartments had but little ornament except the images and bas reliefs which I have mentioned; the exterior is richly carved, and the pyramids, more particularly, were formed in clusters of little canopies, as usual in the Hindoo buildings of these provinces, but more elaborately wrought than is often seen. On each side the doors of the different small sanctuaries are figures of men with large staves in their hands, naked except a cloth round the waist, with very bushy hair, and a high cylindrical cap, such as is not now worn in India, but which exactly resembles that seen on the ancient figures at Persepolis and elsewhere in Persia. The similarity was so striking that Abdullah of his own accord pointed out one of these head-dresses as like that on the monument of Jumsheed Jum, and the prints which I have seen prove his recollection to be accurate. The domes are admirably constructed, and the execution of the whole building greatly superior to what I should have expected to find in such a situation. Its splendour of architecture, and its present deserted condition, were accounted for by the Thannadar from the fact, that Kalingera had been a place of much traffic and the residence of many rich traders of the Jain sect, who were all ruined or driven away by the Maharattas, at whose door, indeed, all the misfortunes of this country are, with apparent reason, laid.

The antiquity of the building I had no means of ascertaining.

It is in too good repair for me to think it very old, and there are no inscriptions on its conspicuous parts; a Nagree date (1103) is visible on one of the stones in the pavement of the interior verandah, near the south-west corner, but I know not from what era this is reckoned, and the stone, from its situation, is not likely to have been selected to receive the date of the building. It may have been removed from some other edifice.

From Kalingera is about seven miles more of jungle to Tambresra, a village near which our tents were pitched under the shade of some fine trees, and near a cistern which still contained a little water. The situation was very beautiful, but made less agreeable than it might have been by an unlucky accident. Our little flock of sheep and goats were resting after their march under a spreading tree, when a monkey, who had come down to steal the shepherd's breakfast, and was driven back by him, in his hurried flight among the branches stumbled on a bee's nest which hung suspended in the air, and not only got himself well stung, but brought out the whole swarm in fury against the poor unoffending animals beneath. Most of them were severely stung and bleated pitifully, but it was curious to observe the different conduct between the sheep and the goats. The former crowded all together, burying their noses in the sand, but with no apparent notion of flight or resistance, the latter ran off as fast as they could for shelter among our tents, pressing in for security as so many dogs would have done. They brought, however, such a swarm of their pursuers adhering to their coats and following them close, that their coming was very little to be desired, and we were forced to refuse them the hospitality which they would otherwise have received. Indeed, as it was, my tent was filled for a short time with bees, and several of the people were stung. We had good reason, however, to be thankful that they were the sheep and goats which were attacked and not the horses; had the latter been the case, the consequence might have been very serious. From what I saw on this occasion I do not think the sting of the common Indian bee so severe as that of the European.

In the afternoon the Thakoor of the district, who assumes the title of Raja, came to see me. His residence is at Kishulgur, a little town about three coss from hence, and he has a very small and poor territory of fourteen or fifteen villages; his name is Gumbeer Singh, a strongly built and handsome young man, though not tall, and with one of the most prepossessing countenances I have seen for some time. He was a mere rustic, however, and had the further disadvantage of an impediment in his speech, a consciousness of which, apparently, made him confused and diffident. His dress was plain, and his shield, sword, and large turban his only finery. He was attended by fifteen or twenty armed men, all on foot. I gave him a chair, pawn, and attar, and he in return would not allow his people to receive any thing for a kid and some milk which they had furnished, the value of which indeed was not equal to half a rupee.

Grain, which at Banswarra had been sixteen seers the rupee, was here nineteen, which, I hoped, indicated that things were not so very bad in Guzerat as I had understood, since on the immediate border there was no deterioration. The Thakoor, however, said that there was great dearth there, but that none of the people had, as yet, come to seek refuge in this country.

During the years of trouble, Malwah (except in the neighbourhood of fortified towns and among the most inaccessible mountains,) was entirely depopulated. All the villagers hereabouts had emigrated chiefly into Berar, Candeish, and the Deckan, and some had become servants and camp-followers to the British army, till, within the last three or four years, they returned each man to his inheritance on hearing that they might do so in safety. Several instances of this kind, and of the inviolable respect paid in this part of India to the rights of the poorest freeholders thus returning, are mentioned by Sir John Malcolm.

We walked in the evening about the village, the situation of which is beautiful; its inhabitants consist of Bheels and low caste Rajpoots, who have a still for arrack, at which several of the

encampment, unfortunately, drank but too freely. On the hill above were some noble mhowah trees, and under their shade some scattered Bheel huts, neater and better than any which I had seen. Each was built of bamboos wattled so as to resemble a basket; they had roofs with very projecting eaves, thatched with grass and very neatly lined with the large leaves of the teak-tree. The upper part of each gable end was open for the smoke to pass out. The door was wattled and fastened with a bamboo plait and hinges, exactly like the lid of a basket, and the building was enclosed with a fence of tall bamboo poles, stuck about an inch apart, connected with cross pieces of the same, and with several plants of the everlasting-pea trailed over it. Within this fence was a small stage elevated on four poles about seven feet from the ground, and covered with a low thatched roof. My people said this was to sleep upon as a security from wild beasts, but I have no idea they could be in any danger from them within a bamboo fence and in a house of the same material, since it is well known that the tyger, from apprehension of snares, will hardly ever come near this sort of enclosure. It might be used as a sleeping place for the sake of coolness or dryness, but as each of these houses seemed to stand in the centre of its own little patch of Indian corn, I should rather apprehend it was intended as a post to watch it from.

One of the Allahabad bearers who had been drunk at Banswarra on Sunday evening had not yet joined us, and his companions expressed considerable uneasiness about him. They did not apprehend that he had as yet come to any harm, but he was, they said, pennyless, and without his clothes in a strange and far distant country. They thought he was probably deterred from following us either by fear of my displeasure, or by a dread of passing the woods alone, and begged me to make use of my "great name" to procure, as the best thing which could befal him, his being seized by the police, and brought to me as a prisoner. This was precisely what I thought of doing, so that I was not sorry to close with their intreaties, as, in fact, his absence was by no means convenient to me. I sent, therefore, a description of the man to the cutwal of Banswarra by four of the police sepoys, who are stationed at different thannas for the protection of the road, and who nearly resemble the sword and shield-men whom we see round Calcutta, except that the police of Malwah have also matchlocks. These men had, at first, frequent affairs with the Bheels, and it was often necessary to call in the aid of regular troops. At Cheeta Talao, which is the frontier post of Guzerat, four years ago, a sharp engagement took place between 50 horse and 100 infantry under the orders of Mr. Wellesley, and a large body of Bheels, in which seven horses and five men were killed by arrow-shots. At present matters go on smoothly in this neighbourhood, but last year Captain Cobbe had a long and bloody campaign in the mountains south of Oodeypoor, in which many lives were lost on both sides, but which ended in the miserable Bheels having their fields wasted, their villages burnt, and so many of their people destroyed by famine that they were supposed to be completely tamed. Captain Cobbe sent, therefore, a Chobdar with offers of mercy; but so desperate had these wretched tribes become, and so bitter was their hatred of their persecutors, that they cut off the messenger's head, and fixed it on a bamboo, where the advancing party found it the next morning, the perpetrators of the deed having

fled still further into the hills, where it was next to impossible for the Lowland troops to pursue them. Since then it is said that Captain Cobbe has succeeded in engaging one tribe of Bheels to fight against their countrymen, but the result of this measure I have not heard, nor can I help thinking that a conciliatory policy has not yet been sufficiently tried, and that it is likely to answer better with these poor savages than mere severity.

*March* 9.—A march of fourteen miles through a thick forest, only interrupted by a few patches of corn round a Bheel hamlet, with a thanna, named Doonga, about half-way, brought us to the rocky and beautiful banks of the river Anass, the bed of which is as broad as the Dee at Bangor, but which was now standing in pools, with every prospect of being quite dry before the present hot season is over. We here left Malwah and entered Guzerat. On the Guzerat side of the river is a police thanna of two thatched huts, with an elevated stage for a sentry, and the whole surmounted by a high fence of bamboo poles, after the manner of the Bheels. A little to the north of this, and near the confluence of the Anass and another considerable torrent named the Mhysrie, our tents were pitched in a situation which only wanted more water to make it the loveliest, as it was the wildest and most romantic, which I had seen since I left Kemaoon. The spot of our encampment was considerably elevated, and presented a small irregular lawn dotted with noble trees of the peepul, mhowah, and toon species : beneath us, on two sides, was a rocky bank with brushwood, below this the two rivers, now, alas ! hardly deserving the name, but, with their rocky and uneven beds, intersecting and bordering the clear black pools which yet remained in deeper and more shady spots; and, beyond them, hills, rocky and covered with wood, an apparently trackless and boundless wilderness so far as the eye could follow it. In seasons less thirsty than the present this would have been a delightful spot. As it is we were fortunate in not being a week later, since, on asking about our farther route, I found that it was necessary to alter our destined

halting-places in many instances from absolute want of water, and six or seven days later a caravan like ours would have been reduced to great distress, and probably obliged either to make marches which would have materially harassed the cattle, or to return by the way it came, at the risk of losing them all.

"Cheeta Talao," the name of this place, means Leopard's rock, but we neither saw nor heard of any ferocious animal. Animals of all kinds, indeed, seem strangely scarce in these woods. Had there been many tygers we must, in all probability, have seen them or heard their growls, travelling so much as we have done before day-break, and pitching the tents in such wild and woody places. Nor have we seen any deer, or game of any description. The tyger, it is well known, requires a great deal of water, and is generally found in its neighbourhood ; but the pools and cool reeds which yet remain in the Anass are sufficient, I should have supposed, to answer his wants. I am led therefore to suppose that the deer and other game have left the hills on account of the scarcity of forage, and that the tygers and leopards have followed them to the plains. Yet the cattle of the Bheels which we have fallen in with, though lean, as all the Indian cattle are at this time of year, do not seem famished.

A few Bheel huts were seen scattered over the surrounding hills in conformity with the practice which seems universal with these people, of fixing their habitations on a rising ground. A good many of their inhabitants assembled on one of the hills to look at the camp, but none came near it ; and though Dr. Smith and I, during our evening's walk, fell in with three or four, they all made off as fast as they could, except one young man, who was, I apprehend, in the service of the police thannadar, and whom we found with his bow and arrows, watching a small patch of barley, the only cultivation which we saw. Our own supplies were brought partly from Doongra, partly from Jhalloda, distances of six and ten miles, and the horses got no gram till nearly nine o'clock at night.

Soon after I went to bed an alarm was given by one of the

sentries, in consequence of a baboon drawing near his post. The character of the intruder was, however, soon detected by one of the suwarrs, who on the sepoy's repeating his exclamation of the broken English, "who goes 'ere?" said with a laugh, "why do you challenge the lungoor? he cannot answer you!" These animals are, some of them, as large as a moderate pointer, and when creeping through the bushes might well enough be mistaken for a Bheel, especially as the robbers of this nation generally make their approaches on their hands and feet.

*March* 10.—From Cheeta Talao I had intended to go to Leemree, a distance, stated by Captain Macdonald, to be sixteen miles. But on learning that it was customary to stop at Jhalloda, and that it was a large place, I determined on halting there, and the rather since I was told that we could not get to a better place of halting on Saturday than Doodeah. In all this I was misinformed as the event shewed, but I had not now first to learn that in countries of this sort one must often learn one's way by actual experience. From Cheeta Talao our road lay through a deep and close forest, in the lower parts of which, even in the present season, the same thick milky vapour was hovering as that which I saw in the Terrai, and which is called "essence of owl." We passed one or two places of this kind both yesterday and to-day, than which no fitter spots could be conceived at a proper time of year to shelter a tyger or communicate a jungle-fever. Even now they were chilling cold, and the gloom and closeness of the ravines seen in the moonlight made them dismally wild and aweful. At the end of about nine miles we crossed the bed of the Mhysree, and went past a thanna named Moorkhousla, and through a country partially cultivated, another mile to Jhalloda. We passed both yesterday and this morning, caravans of waggons loaded with cocoa-nuts proceeding from Baroda to Malwah and the northern provinces. They were to bring back mhowa and corn, so that it appears that the present high prices in Guzerat have actually made it worth while to encounter the heavy transit duties.

We found also at Jhalloda a Charun, a very fine athletic-looking man, and apparently a person of some property, who had been on a speculation of the same kind to Indore, whither he had taken a number of horses, and was now returning with about forty bullocks laden with grain to his own country of Cattywarr. When we arrived at Jhalloda we found him just leaving the ground where he had bivouacked for the night with his cattle round him, putting on his huge red turban, girding his loins, and hanging on his sword and shield. A servant stood by him with his matchlock, and a saees held his poney, while four or five other retainers, with matchlocks on their shoulders, were beginning to drive off the bullocks. Many of the more opulent Charuns practise the trade of horse-dealing, being very much protected in their journies, against every body but Bheels, by the supposed sanctity of their character. The Cattywarr horses are among the best in all India, equal to those of Cutch in beauty, and much superior in the generosity of their blood and fineness of their temper, in which they almost equal the Arabs. Some of them are dun with black tyger-like stripes, and these are the most valued.

Jhalloda had been described to me as a city, a name which it little deserves. It has a bazar, however, a mosque, a small pagoda, and some good, solidly built brick houses, of a kind such as are not usually seen in the eastern districts of India, being of two stories high, with sloping tiled roofs, and very projecting eaves, which, from the smallness of their windows and other circumstances, put me a good deal in mind of our Shropshire malt-kilns. There is a large and handsome tank, not more than half full of water, but covered with multitudes of teal, the banks of which are shaded by some fine mangoe and ceiba-trees. The crimson blossoms of the last were very beautiful, and both they and the mangoes were full of monkeys, chiefly of the lungoor kind.

I learned, to my surprise, that Jhalloda, Godra, and three other small towns in this neighbourhood, with their dependant hamlets and districts, belong to Sindia, who is also feudal superior of the Raja of Lunewarra. I was not previously aware that he

retained any influence in Guzerat. His own territories here are called the district of Punjmahal, and had been till lately held in Jaghire by one of his relations who oppressed the people grievously, but had been just disgraced, as is said, by British influence, and after some ineffectual resistance, seized and carried to Gwalior. The Maharaja's flag, striped red and white, is hoisted in the market-place, but the police of the neighbourhood, so far at least as the security of the road is concerned, appears to be vested in a moonshee of Captain Macdonald's, who came to pay his respects, and gave me this information. Grain here, as we found from the bunyans who supplied the camp, was 15 seers the rupee, and they said that we should find it dearer as we went on. They spoke of the crop now in the ground as never likely to come up, and said, which certainly agreed with our own observation, that the wheat and barley harvest, which was now beginning, would be dismally scanty.

A number of Bheels, men and women, came to the camp with bamboos in their hands, and the women with their clothes so scanty and tucked so high as to leave the whole limb nearly bare. They had a drum, a horn, and some other rude minstrelsy, and said they were come to celebrate the Hoolee. They drew up in two parties and had a mock fight, in which at first the females had much the advantage, having very slender poles, while the men had only short cudgels, with which they had some difficulty in guarding their heads. At last some of the women began to strike a little too hard, on which their antagonists lost temper and closed with them so fiercely that the poor females were put to the rout in real or pretended terror. They collected a little money in the camp, and then went on to another village. The Hoolee, according to the orthodox system, was over, but these games are often prolonged for several days after its conclusion.

In the evening I was alarmed by violent shrieks from the wife of one of the mohouts and her sister; the husband had been beating them with a large stick, and both were all bloody. I found

on examination, that the man had several serious grounds of complaint against them, but I admonished him severely for correcting them in such a manner, and threatened him with imprisonment at Baroda if such an offence occurred again. One of the women pretended to be very much hurt indeed, but she soon grew tired of shamming the insensible, and began to scold and scream away, declaring that she would never enter her husband's house again, a determination from which I had very little doubt she would relent as soon as her passion cooled, and the rather because in this strange land she had neither home nor harbour.

*March* 11.—The distance from Jhalloda to Leemree, our stage for this day, was little more than six miles, and had I been fully aware of all circumstances, might easily have been included in the yesterday's march. It lies through a wild country, though the jungle is not so close as that which we had lately traversed. One of the suwarr's horses dropt down and died on the road, to the great dismay of the poor rider, who stated that his horse was his chief worldly wealth, and that the allowance made by a sort of regimental fund established for such emergencies would not buy him another. If he had lost it in battle, the Company would have given him 200 rupees, but at present he would receive only 150 from a stock-purse which all the irregular regiments keep up to meet casualties. Nor had he any means of procuring, at present, an animal to carry him in his long march. I felt, therefore, glad to be able to give him the Rawul of Banswarra's poney, which, though not tall enough for the ranks, would carry him perfectly well during his march, and the sale of which would afterwards come very handsomely in aid of his new purchase.

Leemree, or Neemree, for it seems to be pronounced both ways, is a good sized village on the bank of the winding Mhysree, which we here crossed a second time; the water still formed many deep pools in parts of its rocky bed, in which were a good many fish. It was, however, as a countryman on the bank assured me, too putrid to be drinkable, and the camp was supplied from some

small wells near the town. We overtook some Brinjarrees in this morning's march, carrying corn from the neighbourhood of Indore to Baroda. Soon after we arrived at our ground, a poor woman came to Dr. Smith, and complained that she had been robbed of all her property and beaten by the Bheels near the pass of Doodeah, which lies about half way in the stage which we were to go next morning. She added that, on her remonstrating, the plunderers threatened to take away her two children. A complaint nearly similar was brought to me in my evening's walk by an elderly man, the Potail of the village, who said that he and some other people had had their wains stopped and plundered and their oxen carried away, and on being reminded that they should have recourse to the officers of the Maharaja, whose subjects they were, replied with some justice, "Why do you English keep a line of posts through our country, unless you will defend us in passing along the road?" I told them to send one of their number with me to Barreeah, where a moonshee of the British Government resides, from whom I would endeavour to obtain justice for them. Dr. Smith had applicants for surgical aid both yesterday and to-day; the first was a very fine boy, who was brought by his parents with a dislocated shoulder, which had occurred six weeks ago. The second was also a boy, who had lost his sight in the small-pox, a case but too plainly hopeless. The poor child seemed very intelligent, but knowing nothing of the blessings of sight, seemed glad when he found that no operation was to be performed on him, but his father shed tears on learning that Dr. Smith could not help him.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of water which has prevailed here, forage does not seem scarce, and the cattle whom we met in carts, are by no means in a starving condition; they are not equal to those of Marwar, but they greatly surpass the wretched bullocks of Bengal, and are superior even to the average of Hindostan. Leemree has a small ruined brick fort and a little bazar, but nothing worthy of notice. For a small distance round the village the

ground is cultivated, but all the further prospect is wilderness still. Near our tents many people, both men and women, were employed in cutting a barley-field. They reaped it with very small sickles, gathering it not by armsful as in England, but by handsful, cutting each time no more than they could grasp in the left hand; the crop was very thin and poor, with starveling ears, and wretchedly short straw. I observed that here, as in Europe, gleaning is a privilege of the poor, and that a number of miserable looking women and children followed the reapers, picking up what they left. I was much grieved to see so sad a prospect for the ensuing year, and even now it is painful to look forwards to the distress to which most of these villages must be liable from the total drying up of their rivers and wells before the first rains can be expected.

*March* 12.—We marched between sixteen and seventeen miles through a very wild and beautiful country, and down a long, steep, and rugged descent, carried along the projecting ridge of a hill, with glens on each side. From the top of this Ghât I had expected a fine view of the rich and cultivated country, as it had been described to me, of Guzerât, but was surprised to see a fine prospect indeed, but still of wooded hill and valley, and so far as the eye could reach, no trace of human habitation, except one miserable thatched shed close to us, where a picquet of police sepoys was stationed. As we descended the hill, however, Bheel huts were seen scattered among the trees, and we successively passed a thatched thannah surrounded with a bamboo fence, a small village chiefly of Bheels, called Doodeah, and after crossing a little river, or rather the dry bed of one, arrived in a beautiful glade surrounded with tall trees, in which our tents were pitched, near a part of the river which yet had water.

In consequence of the alleged misbehaviour of the Bheels in this neighbourhood, I had directed some additional precautions to be observed in keeping the caravan together, and the soldiers in readiness for action. We met with no thieves, however, nor was

it likely that they would come in the way of such a party. Indeed we found the Brinjarrees travelling the road without any additional precaution; they, however, are all armed, and such stout fellows that the thieves must be numerous and bold who would have any thing to say to them. The waggoners, likewise, of whom we met another large party, can travel through very wild countries in much security; they go in numbers, have mostly swords and shields, and often join their purses to hire an escort of Bheels, who, when trusted, are generally both brave and trustworthy. By day we frequently met them proceeding with an advanced and rear guard of these naked bow-men, and at night they draw their waggons into a circle, placing their cattle in the centre, and connecting each ox to his yoke-fellow, and at length to the wain, by iron collars rivetted round their necks, and fastened to an iron chain, which last is locked to the cart-wheel. It is thus extremely difficult to plunder without awaking them; and in addition to this, where the place is supposed to require it, one of their number stands sentry. Besides coco-nuts, we found they were carrying tobacco northwards.

*March* 13.—This day being Sunday, I was happy to be able to halt, an order which I believe was very acceptable to all the men and animals in the camp, who after our late stoney roads, were alike shewing symptoms of fatigue. I read prayers as usual in the morning, and in consideration of the greatly advanced price of provisions, which was now a rupee for 14 seers of flour, I paid the bunyans for furnishing a seer of flour, or day's meal, to every person in the camp. In the course of the afternoon I had the happiness to receive a packet of letters, forwarded by Mr. Williams, Resident at the court of Baroda, containing a favourable account of my wife and children, and letters from my mother and sister. I dreamt of Hodnet all night!

*March* 14.—We were met, almost immediately on our setting out this morning, by two suwarrs in the service of the Raja of Barrea, who came to act as guides. We followed them among some romantic woody hills, and through some of the thickest

jungle which we have traversed, to a small plain, or more open spot, with a thannah and village, named Jerreah, ten miles from Barreah. This is the usual halting-place, but the wells are now insufficient for so large a party as mine, and I therefore had settled to go on to the city, which is five miles further, and not more than two or three out of the direct road. In our way we were met by Captain Macdonald's moonshee, in charge of this part of the road, a mussulman, and native of Allahabad, accompanied by a crowd of very shabby horsemen, among whom he presented one to me as the Kamdar of the Raja of Barreah, and sent on his master's part to meet me. The moonshee was well-mounted and gaily dressed, with sword, dagger, shawl, inlaid trappings, and all the usual insignia of a Mahomedan gentleman. All the rest, the Kamdar among them, were wrapped up in coarse cotton cloth, on sorry horses, and had, with their long spears, buffalo-hide shields, and bare legs and heels, pretty exactly the appearance of the Abyssinian troops described by Bruce. Several men, naked all but the waistcloth, followed, with matchlocks on their shoulders, and the procession was closed by a number of Bheel archers, differing in no respect from those whom we had seen on the mountains. The only mark of state, and this is Abyssinian also, was that the "nagari," or great kettle-drum, was carried at their head, and beat with single dubs, from time to time. Here the Rajpoot red turban loses its consequence, the reigning family of Baroda being Maharattas, to which race, apparently, the horsemen whom we met to-day belonged. This will, in a great measure, account for their shabby appearance, the Maharatta pretty generally affecting a soldierly plainness, and to despise all shew and parade. This, however, is not the only instance in which a neglect of appearances seems to exist in Guzerat. The hurkaru who brought Mr. Williams' letter was a mere beggar in his dress, and so dirty as even beggars are seldom seen in Hindostan or Bengal. Yet on being asked what situation he held about the Residency, he described himself as a servant in regular pay, and receiving no

less than eight rupees a month! On such wages, and in such a situation, it would go hard indeed with a Hindoostanee but he would have decent clothing, shoes, a sword with silver or plated hilt, and an embroidered belt. The old man, however, for such he was, was cheerful and intelligent. He had brought the letter on foot from Baroda, in two days and a night,—professed to know the straightest roads all over Guzerât, and as the value of his rags did not exceed many pice, and nobody could suspect him of being a Government functionary, he was probably one of the best messengers who could be employed in a country so wild, and in so much anarchy, as this has usually been.

Barreah stands very prettily in the midst of woody hills. Among the few fruit-trees which are immediately about its gates, I saw some coco-palms, the first which I had seen since I left Bengal, and a proof that we were again approaching the sea.

The Raja, a child of twelve years old, with a cousin a little older, the Kamdar mentioned before, and a number of ragged attendants, came to see me in the evening. He was carried in a handsome palankeen, had the nigari and neshan of state carried before him, and was himself a pretty little boy, with an intelligent countenance, and neatly dressed, with sword, shield, and dagger, suited to his age, and a large red turban. His name is Prit'hee Lall Singh, and he is a Rajpoot, though those with him were Maharattas or Bheels, and he appeared to have few of his own caste either in his court or territory, both which shewed marks of much poverty. I received him with military honours, seated him on a chair at my right hand, and placed his cousin on another at my left. These attentions were more intended to please the boy's followers than himself, and as a proper means of keeping up his consequence in their estimation. But though I suppose he was hardly old enough to care about forms, I was amused to see how much the novelty of the sight delighted him, particularly the red coats and muskets of the sepoys, who are rarities in these secluded valleys. He listened, too, with much more interest and

animation than is generally displayed by the upper ranks of Hindoos in conversation, to the account which Dr. Smith gave him of the cities which I had visited, and of my intended long voyage by sea, and by the way of Lanca to Calcutta. The sea is called by all the natives of Central India " kala panee," (black water,) and they have the most terrible ideas of it and the countries beyond it. Sir John Malcolm relates, in his account of Malwah, that when Cheetoo, the Pindarree chief, was flying in hopeless misery from the English, he was often advised by his followers to surrender to their mercy. He was possessed, however, by the idea that he should be transported, and this notion was to him more hideous than death. These men, who all one after another came in and obtained pardon, said that during their Captain's short and miserable sleep, he used continually to murmur, " kala panee!" " kala panee!" Thus haunted, he never would yield, till at length all his people, one by one, had forsaken him in the jungle, and a mangled body was found in a tyger's lair, which the sword, the ornamented saddle, and a letter-case containing some important papers and a general's commission from the Ex-Raja of Nagpoor, proved to have been once the scourge of Central India! A nearly similar case Dr. Smith said had fallen under his own knowledge, of a Bheel chief, who, for murder and robbery, was sent to be confined at Allahabad. He was very anxious during the march to obtain spirituous liquors, which the officer commanding the escort, out of compassion, frequently supplied him with. When, however, he was drunk, he would never be pacified with the assurance that he was only to be confined at Allahabad, and used to cry and rave about " kala panee," invoking " Company Sahib" to be merciful, and kill him, that he might be burned in Hindostan. With such feelings, they may well listen with astonishment to the long voyages which we voluntarily take, and of the strange lands which must lie beyond this frightful barrier.

The Kamdar told us that Barreah had suffered grievously during the years of trouble; but that their late Raja was a valiant

man, and his little country being strong and easily defended, he had never paid tribute either to Maharaja or Pindarree, unless actually constrained by force, and had always revolted again as soon as the pressure of a present and victorious army was withdrawn. The Kamdar's own name, he said, was Nuttoo Baee. After sitting some little time, an event, of which I had been from the first apprehensive, occurred, and I was told by the Kamdar that the Raja had brought a horse, of which he begged my acceptance. I fought it off as long as I could, urging, with great truth, that it would really put me to difficulty, that I could not take it on shipboard, and did not know what I should do with it. The people present all said it was "namoobaruk," (unlucky,) to send me away without a present, and at last the little Raja rose and, joining his hands, said, " Lord Sahib, for my sake, take this horse." I was therefore obliged to yield, and was glad to believe that the present I had prepared for him, while I could very well spare it, was handsome, and likely to be useful to him. It consisted of three pieces of English flowered muslin, and a gilt dagger in a red and yellow velvet sheath, which I stuck in the little fellow's sash, and which appeared to please him greatly. The horse was now brought, and turned out to be really a very pretty Cutch poney, old certainly, and in bad condition, but still equal to some service.

The Raja now took his leave, and went off with his cousin in the palankeen. The Kamdar, and another man who said he was a shroff, or banker, remained, and took some pains to explain a transaction in which they had been concerned, in regard to certain arrears of the tribute paid by them to the British Government. The late Kamdar, now in prison, had detained, they said, for two years back, the balance which he ought to have remitted to Mr. Macdonald, having been encouraged to do so by a report that the Raja of the Burmans had already taken Calcutta. The shroff then present had detained some part of his effects, but had applied them, if I understood right, to the payment of a debt to himself. He had, however, no share in the treasonable or fraudulent part

of the transaction. I said that I would speak favourably of them in my letter to Captain Macdonald; and his moonshee afterwards told me, that Captain Macdonald thought highly of this present Kamdar, and had treated him with marked kindness and confidence. Both Kamdar and shroff gave a dismal account of the distress of Barreah, and the neighbouring countries. In the small and barren territory of the Raja, containing about 270 villages, a very large proportion were almost without inhabitants; and in the course of our afternoon's walk through the little town, I for the first time saw some of the horrors of an Indian famine. The town had been, to all appearance, neat and substantially built, but a great many houses were uninhabited, and falling to decay. The cattle which they were driving in from the jungle for the night were mere skeletons, and so weak that they could hardly get out of the path. There were few beggars, for it seemed as if they had either died off or gone to some other land; but all the people, even the bunyans, who generally look well fed, were pictures of squalid hunger and wretchedness; and the beggars who happened to fall in my way! alas! I shall never forget them! for I never before could have conceived life to linger in such skeletons. To one of these, an elderly man, naked except a little rag fastened with a packthread round his waist, I gave all the pice I could collect from my own pocket or the servants who were with me; and after all, they, I am sorry to say, amounted to only two or three anas. The man clasped them in his hands, burst into a ghastly laugh, and ran off as if in a hurry to buy food immediately. A little further was a still more dreadful figure, a Bheel, who did not beg, but was in a state of such visible starvation that I called to him, and bid him go to the khânsaman for something to eat. I followed him to my tents, and found that he had already had some scraps given him by the sweeper. I added to these a shoulder of mutton and a seer of flour, as well as, I am ashamed to say *how* little money, all which the poor wretch tried to fold in the rag which he took from his loins. He seemed quite past every thing, and even indifferent

to what I was doing for him. Some famishing children now came up, a poor man who said he was a butcher, but had no employ, and a black, who described himself as a Mussulman Fakir, and a native of Masuah in Abyssinia. I gave a few anas to each, reproaching myself all the time for giving so little, but apprehending that I should shortly have half the population round me, and that if I gave what I felt inclined to do, I should not leave myself enough for my own expences to Baroda, as well as for the many similar objects of distress which I might see by the way.

The misery of this immediate neighbourhood has been materially augmented by superstition. The calamity is want of water, yet there is a fine boolee close to the city, which, even now, is nearly full, but of which no use is made. A man fell into it and was drowned, two years ago, and the people not only desisted from drinking the water themselves, (which for a certain time was not unnatural,) but from giving it their cattle, or irrigating their ground from it. For want of being stirred it is now, of course, putrid and offensive, but would soon recover if drawn off liberally for the fields, and become again useful both for beast and man. But they would starve, and in fact were starving, rather than incur this fancied pollution. The agricultural implements, and every thing else in this country, seem behind those of their Hindoostanee neighbours. The carts and ploughs are ruder and worse constructed, and their wells have not even the simple machinery, if it deserves the name, for raising the water, which I never saw one without in Upper India, and which is always found in the wildest parts of Malwah, and the valley of the Nerbudda. We were as yet, however, in the jungles, and it would not have been fair to judge of Guzerât in general from the specimen which we now had seen.

*March* 16.—From Barreah we went to Damma Ka Boolee, a cistern in the jungles, constructed by a person named Damma Jee, whose name it bears, by which is a small police thanna. About five miles further we crossed the dry and rocky bed of a river

Mhysree, (the second of the name,) on whose banks our tents were pitched, in a romantic situation, near a scattered village. Immediately adjoining the houses, and in some parts of the bed of the river, were marks of a crop having been recently reaped, from fields, or rather small gardens, with high bamboo fences. This was almost the only approach to cultivation which we had seen since we entered the territories of Barreah, whose young sovereign, poor little fellow, would indeed have a "noble grist" if mowah-trees were mangoes, and jungle-grass corn.

The head man of the village said he was a Kholee, the name of a degenerate race of Rajpoots in Guzerât, who, from the low occupations in which they are generally employed, have (under the corrupt name of Coolee) given a name, probably through the medium of the Portuguese, to bearers of burthens all over India. In Guzerat, they are described in Hamilton's Gazetteer, as distinguished by their uncleanness, ferocity, and predatory habits, and as giving a great deal of trouble to Government. This person, however, was of decent manners and appearance. Our supplies of every kind were brought with us from Barreah, so that we had no occasion to give him any trouble, fire-wood being at hand under these dry shrivelled trees for every body who chose to get it. To obtain water in sufficient quantity for the camp, it was necessary to dig three or four feet in the sand of the river's bed, when water soon rose to the surface. The other inhabitants of the village and neighbourhood were Bheels, but it gave me pleasure to see that these lowland Bheels, (notwithstanding the barrenness of the soil, and the actual distress of the country,) were in seeming better plight than those we had met in the hills, to say nothing of the wretched beggars of Barreah. Their dwellings were larger, they had more ample mantles, that is, the dirty cotton cloth which covered their head and shoulders reached generally to their hips. Many of them had swords and shields, others a small but neatly-made hatchet, and one man, who was our guide through the wood to-day, and had a blanket of red baize flung over his shoulders, as

he trotted along the rugged road before my horse's head reminded me exceedingly of the pictures of a North American Indian. He was one of the servants of the police thanna, so that the Company's pay had probably put him in better plight than most of his neighbours.

Near this village was the finest banyan-tree which I had ever seen, literally a grove rising from a single primary stem, whose massive secondary trunks, with their straightness, orderly arrangement, and evident connection with the parent stock, gave the general effect of a vast vegetable organ. The first impression which I felt on coming under its shade was, "What a noble place of worship!" I was glad to find that it had not been debased, as I expected to find it, by the symbols of idolatry, though some rude earthen figures of elephants were set up over a wicket leading to it, but at a little distance. I should exult, in such a scene, to collect a Christian congregation. The banks of the Mhysree are steep and rocky, and the granite rock is seen every where through the country, peeping out, or rising in large insulated masses, above the scanty soil.

*March* 16.—Another march of about eight miles through jungle as usual, brought us to Aradiah, a poor deserted village, whence, through a more open country, we went four and a half more to Mullaow. Both these places belong to Sindia, and the latter has been a large village, but is now almost unpeopled, by the tyranny of Sindia's governor, Puttun-kar, and by this year of famine. We met a herd of cows on entering the place, mere anatomies, and so weak that when one of them fell in crossing the ruts of the road, she could not rise again. The country is here adapted for rice-cultivation, the water for which, in more auspicious years, has been supplied from a large artificial tank. This is not now quite dry, but is so low beneath its banks, as to be inapplicable to irrigation, and the fields, when I saw them, were perfectly waste and bare, and their soil the colour and consistency of a sandy turnpike-road. Flour was dearer than even at Barreah, being here

only eleven seer for the rupee, and there was no gram to be obtained, except the inferior sort, called "motee," which made two of the horses ill, though it is a common provender in many parts of India.

I this day unexpectedly found the Raja's little horse very useful, Cabul having unfortunately hurt himself by his endeavours, when picketted, to get away from an elephant which broke loose and came too near him, and the suwarree elephant, being by the abominable carelessness of the mohout, saddle-galled. The Raja's horse had been described to me as very wild and ill-tempered, but I found that his restiveness had only arisen from the excessively severe bit with which the natives ride, and in my bridle he went perfectly well. Like all the horses used by men of rank in India, he would not trot, but had an elastic springy amble, graceful in itself, and agreeable to the rider, but ill calculated for a long stage, since it must knock up the horse much sooner than the usual paces of English travelling.

We had now apparently left the hills; there was still, however, one very fine insulated mass of rock on our left, with a large fortress on the top, called Powaghur. It belongs to Sindia, to whom also belongs the city of Champaneer, at its base. I here received letters again from Baroda, brought by two miserably ragged and dirty men, who called themselves servants of the Resident! They had not even the common brass lotee for drinking, which few beggars are without in the eastern and northern provinces, but merely a gourd-shell, and instead of the spiked and painted staff which there every common Dâk-messenger carries, had long ragged staves plucked out of some hedge, while their rags were scarcely enough to answer the purposes even of Indian decency. All the people, indeed, whom we see, now that we are arrived in the plains, are in appearance, cleanliness, clothes, and even stature, inferior to those both of Hindostan and Bengal. The language differs much less than I expected, but there are several Arabic words, which no less than the Abyssinian beggar I

met at Barreah, remind me that I am drawing near a coast which has been long and inseparably connected, by commerce and other ties, with Arabia and Africa. I saw no coco-trees to-day, but the tara-palms are numerous.

A great man, a relation of Sindia's, who was on a journey, took up his quarters at Mullaow to-day. His coming was announced by the sound of the nagari, and by a trumpet, so exactly resembling that which ushers in Mr. Punch, that I could have thought that he had arrived in person. In the morning, however, when my drum and fife beat the reveillé, the band of the Maharatta chieftain tried to imitate them, but with little success. I did not learn his name, indeed I was very closely occupied with some absurd tracasseries of which I had just received accounts, which seem likely to give me a good deal of trouble, respecting some of the good people of my diocese in Southern India. It is enough to make one sad, if not angry, to see how many bye-ends, how many personal rivalries, and how many mutual suspicions of ill intentions are allowed to mix even in the noblest of all works, by men who profess to be, and I believe mainly are, actuated by the same motives. Now must I speak all these men fair, to prevent their coming to an open schism, and very probably offend them all, because I cannot, and will not, go so far on either side as its supporters wish me.

*March* 18.—From Mullaow to Kunjerree is a march of twelve miles, the greater part still jungle, and the rest seems desolate and abandoned by its cultivators. Yet the soil, in better years, and when water is abundant, seems well calculated for rice; there are many groves of fruit-trees and tara-palms, and a number of small streams, which properly and substantially dammed up, as has been done in Rajpootana and Meywar, might have in a great measure secured these districts from the miseries of the present year. But every thing seems to shew that we are in one of the least improved, as it has been, till very lately, one of the most anarchical and disturbed parts of India. We passed a large number of Brinjarrees

who were carrying salt into Malwah, and were to bring back corn. They differed in some respects from their more northern brethren. Most of these last have matchlocks, but the Guzerâttees had all bows, (of the Bheel construction, but larger and stronger) arrows, sword and shield, except one man who had a sword and broad partizan or halbert. Even the children had, many of them, bows and arrows suited to their strength, and I saw one young woman equipped in the same manner. The men were very scantily clothed, but fine looking and powerful, though not tall fellows, and the females were the largest and most masculine whom I have yet seen in India. They a little resembled the *mug*-women, not of Arracan, but of Shropshire and Staffordshire, in their firm step and erect carriage, and though toasted by the sun to a thorough brick-colour, and with much coarseness of feature, were not so black as the Bengalees. Their dress was a roll of red cloth, wrapped round their bodies like the natives of the South Sea Islands, and a red mantilla, like a veil, which covered their heads, shoulders, and breasts, and shewed only the lower part of their coarse sinewy arms, except when they raised them to beat the cattle out of their way. They had all bracelets of red sealing-wax, and massive anklets of white metal, like silver; they had also metal rings in their noses.

At Kunjeree, which is still in Sindia's limit, I found that the Maharaja, in all this part of his territory, was seldom called by his proper name, Dowlut Raow, but by the Arabic and Mussulman appellation which, singularly enough for a Hindoo, he has assumed within these few years, of "Ali Jah"—"Exalted of the Lord." The fort of Powaghur was the residence of the late governor, Puttunkur, whose family are said to be still living there. He himself is gone to Gwalior, but whether actually as prisoner or not we heard different statements; the country people said that he was, probably because they hoped so. The brahmins, he also being a brahmin, denied it. The present governor of the province, Gungadur Appajee, is residing at Godra.

We were overtaken this morning by the principal moonshee of the Residency, a shrewd Maharatta brahmin, accompanied by two others, aides-du-camp to the Guicwar, who had some days been in quest of me with letters, having marched to meet me via Godra, and thus gone as far as Doodeah before they found their mistake. They had with them two of Mr. Williams's chobdars, and two of the Raja's, with divers irregular horse, a standard, nagari, and four regular cavalry. There was a good deal of parade, but not equal in grave and orderly magnificence to what I had seen in Hindostan. Still I found that in Guzerât, as well as elsewhere in India, pomp *was* attended to. I was agitated with a delight, not unmixed with painful anxiety, on hearing that my dear wife was probably already at sea on her way to meet me, with one of my little ones, having been compelled, alas! to leave the other in Calcutta.

*March* 18.—From Kunjerree to Jerrdda is twelve miles, through an open and, in less unfavourable years, a well cultivated country. Even now I saw some fields of flourishing sugar-cane watered from wells, on examining which I found, to my surprise, that the water was very near the surface, and that had the people possessed more capital, for industry I do not suspect them of wanting, they might have, in a great degree, defied the want of rain. We found Archdeacon Barnes' tent here, and he himself arrived at breakfast time. I had not seen him since he left Oxford, and found him less changed by the lapse of seventeen years, ten of them spent in India, than I expected. In other respects he is scarcely altered at all, having the same cheerful spirits and unaffected manner which he used to have when a young Master of Arts. From him I learned that Mr. Williams and the Guicwar Raja both meant to come out to meet me the next day, at some little distance from Baroda.

I walked in the afternoon with him and Dr. Smith, to look at the Maharatta horse, who had accompanied the Raja's vakeel and Mr. Williams's dewan. They were fifty in number, the horses

much better, both in size and spirit, than those usually ridden by the irregular cavalry of Hindostan, the men inferior in height, good looks, and dress; the arms and appointments of both pretty nearly the same; some had spears, most had matchlocks, shields, and swords.

# CHAPTER XXV.

## BARODA TO BOMBAY.

*Entrance into Baroda—Namdar Khân—Cantonment—Church—Character of the Guicwar—Consecration of the Church—Visit to the Guicwar—Visits from Natives—Guicwar returns the Visit—Departure from Baroda—Crossing the Mhye—Kholees—Swaamee Narain—Hot winds—Interview with Swaamee Narain—Arrival at Kairah—Insalubrity of Cimate—Jain Temple—Departure from Kairah—Difficulty in crossing the Mhye—Broach—Banian-tree in an Island on the Nerbudda—Surat—Embarkation—Arrival at Bombay.*

March 19.—From Jerrdda to Baroda is thirteen miles over a bare and open country, the roads much cut up. Expecting to meet "great men" we made our march in regular order, the nagari beating and Maharatta standard flying before us, followed by my chobdars and a chobdar of the Resident's, who gave the word for marching in a sort of shrill cry, "Chŭlō Maharatta!" Forward Maharattas! The vakeels and the dewan followed with the chief part of my escort. After marching about eight miles, we were met by a body of horse in Persian dresses, under a young officer splendidly mounted on a dapple-grey Arab horse, with the most showy accoutrements which I had seen in India, and a shield of rhinoceros-hide as transparent as horn, and ornamented with four silver bosses. He announced himself as sent by the Resident to enquire after my health, and advanced in a very graceful manner to embrace me. Foreseeing that I should probably have these sort of ceremonies, I had chosen for the day my little Barreah horse, to whom my servants had given the name of Rawul, who having received his breeding at a native court, under-

stood these ceremonies better, and endured them more patiently than either Cabul or Nedjeed would have done. After this ceremony, and a little more conversation with the dewan, the young officer, who was evidently a dandy of the first brilliancy in his own way, began to ride before me, shewing off his horse and horsemanship in all the usual manége of the East, curvetting, wheeling, galloping forwards, and stopping short. He did all this extremely well, but some of his followers in imitating him were not so skilful or so fortunate, and one of them got a pretty rude fall in crossing some of the deep ruts with which the road was intersected. This gave me a good excuse for desiring them to ride gently, a measure desireable on more accounts than one, since the dust was almost intolerable. About a mile further Mr. Williams met us, with several other gentlemen, and an escort of regular troopers, one of whom carried an union-jack before him, a custom which is common, he told me, in Guzerât and the Deckan, though not practised, as far as I have seen, in other parts of India. He told me that "his highness" had just left his palace as he passed the gate of the town, and that we should find him without the gates under some trees. We therefore quickened our pace as much as was compatible with the comfort of our attendants on foot, and with the movements of the suwarree elephant, who was, I found, considered as an essential part of the show, and was directed to follow me closely, though with an empty howdah. On the spot designated we found a numerous body of cavalry, camels, whose riders had each a large bundle of rockets, and infantry armed with matchlocks and swords, of whom a large proportion were Arabs. These troops made a long lane, at the end of which were seen several elephants, on one of which, equipped with more than usual splendour, I was told was the Maharaja. The whole shew greatly exceeded my expectations, and surpassed any thing of the kind which I had seen, particularly as being all Asiatic, without any of the European mixture visible in the ceremonies of the court of Lucknow. We here dismounted and advanced up the lane on foot, when different

successive parties of the principal persons of the city advanced to meet us, beginning with a young man whom Mr. Williams introduced to me as secretary to the Raja and son of the brahmin Vakeel Shastree, whom the Peishwa, Bajee Rao, murdered by the advice of Trimbukjee, and thence proceeding through the different gradations of bankers and financial men, military officers, (of whom many were Patans,) according to their ranks, Vakeels of foreign states, ministers, ending with the prime minister, (all of whom were brahmins) the Raja's brother-in-law, his nephew, a little boy of six years old, the Raja's brother, the heir-apparent, a child also of about six, and the Maharaja himself, a short stout-built young man, of twenty-seven years old. The usual forms of introduction and enquiries after health followed, and his Highness, after asking when I would come to see him, for which I fixed Monday evening, remounted his elephant, and we proceeded different ways into the city, which is large and populous, with tolerably wide streets and very high houses, at least for India, chiefly built of wood, which I had not seen for a long time, with tiled sloping roofs, and *rows* along the streets something like those of Chester. The palace, which is a large shabby building, close to the street, four stories high, with wooden galleries projecting over each other, is quite a specimen of this kind. There are some tolerable pagodas, but no other building which can be admired. The streets are dirty, with many swine running up and down, and no signs of wealth, though, as I was told, there was a good deal of its reality, both among the bankers and principal tradesmen. The Residency is a large ugly house without verandahs, and painted blue, as stuccoed houses sometimes are in England. It was at this time under repair, and Mr. Williams, with his sister, were encamped in a grove of mangoes about a mile from the city; our tents were pitched near his. In passing through the city I saw two very fine hunting tygers in silver chains, and a rhinoceros (the present of Lord Amherst to the Guicwar) which is so tame as to be ridden by a mohout, quite as patiently as an elephant. There were also some very

striking groupes of the native horsemen, who thronged the street like a fair; one of them, a very tall and large man on a powerful horse, was cased completely in chain armour, like the figure representing a crusader at the exhibition of ancient armour in Pall-Mall. He had also a long spear shod with silver, a very large shield of transparent rhinoceros-hide, also with silver studs, and was altogether a most shewy and picturesque cavalier. Many of the others had helmets, vant-braces, gauntlets, &c. but none were so perfectly armed as he was.

During our ride Mr. Williams introduced to me more particularly the officer with the splendid equipment who came to meet me, by the name of Namdar Khân, a native of Persia, and Commander of the Residency escort. He had been aide-du-camp to Sir John Malcolm during the Pindarree war, and was a man of very distinguished and desperate bravery, though, certainly, the greatest coxcomb, as he was also one of the handsomest young men I ever saw. Nothing could exceed the smartness of his embroidery, the spotless purity of his broad belts, the art with which his eyelids were blackened with antimony, his short curling beard, whiskers, and single love-lock, polished with rose-oil, or the more military and becoming polish of his sword, pistols, and dagger; he held his bridle with his right hand, having lost the other by the bursting of a gun. He had, however, an artificial hand made in Baroda, which, so far as show was concerned, and when covered like the other with a white military glove, did very well, but which enhanced the merit of its wearer's excellent horsemanship, since it must have made the management of his charger more difficult. In his instance, and in that of many other natives of rank who had been introduced to me this morning, I already perceived what I had afterwards abundant opportunity of observing, that they associated with Europeans and were treated by them on much more equality and familiarity than is usual in Hindostan. Some of this may arise from the frank and friendly manner which distinguishes Mr. Williams individually, as well as the unusual

fluency with which he speaks Hindoostanee. But I apprehend that more may be attributed to the lively temper and neglect of forms which are general among the Maharattas themselves, and which are remarkably opposed to the solemn gravity of a Mussulman court, as well as to the long and recent wars in which the Guicwar and the English have been allies, and in which the principal officers of both nations were forced into constant and friendly intercourse.

In the evening I drove out with Mr. and Miss Williams to see the cantonment and the Church. The former reminded me of one of the villages near London, having a number of small brick houses with trellis, wooden verandahs, sloping tiled roofs, and upper stories, each surrounded by a garden with a high green hedge of the milkbush. The effect is gay and pretty, but I doubt whether the style of architecture is so well suited to the climate as the common "up-country" bungalow, with a thatched roof and a deep verandah all over. The Church is a small but convenient and elegant Gothic building, accommodating about 400 persons extremely well, and raised at an expense of not more than 12,000 Bombay or 10,000 sicca rupees. House rent and building seem cheap on this side of India, but every thing else excessively dear. The best houses in Bombay may be got for 350 rupees a month, and the best house in Baroda cantonment for 50; on the other hand provisions are twice, and wages almost three times the rate usual in the upper provinces, and though fewer servants are kept, the diminution in this respect is not enough to make up the difference. Most of the household servants are Parsees, the greater part of whom speak English. They are of lighter complexion than the majority of their eastern neighbours, and in dress, features, and countenance, nearly resemble the Armenians. They are good waiters but less respectful, and I think less cleanly than their brethren in the east. Instead of "Koee hue," who's there? the way of calling a servant is "boy," a corruption, I believe, of "bhaee," brother.

The Bombay sepoys were long remarkable for their very low stature; at present they have had so many recruits from Hindostan that the difference is greatly removed, and their grenadier companies have a full proportion of tall men among them. Their battalion companies are, indeed, still under-sized. Nor have they, like the regiments in Hindostan, drawn recruits from the purer castes alone. Many of their number are Kholees, some are Boras, and no inconsiderable number Jews, of whom a great number is found on the coast of Cattywar, Cambay, &c. Their pay and allowances are considerably better than those of the Bengal Presidency, and, altogether, the taller men among them have more the appearance of English troops than even the fine strapping soldiers of Hindostan. They are said, indeed, to fall far short of these in sobriety and peaceable temper and obedience to their officers. In bravery they are surpassed by no troops in the world, and this is fortunate, since no army can have a more troublesome country to manage.

The Guicwar is said to be a man of talent, who governs his states himself, his minister having very little weight with him, and governs them well and vigorously. His error is too great a fondness for money, but as he found the state involved in debt, even this seems excuseable. His territory is altogether considerable, both in Cutch, Cattywar, and Guzerât, though strangely intersected and cut up by the territories of Britain, Sindia, and several independant Rajas. Those of Lunewarra and Doongurpoor, which used to hold of Sindia, now pay him tribute also, as do the Rajas of Palhanpoor and Cattywar. Still his income, amounting to no less than eighty lacks, or, nearly, £800,000, exceeds greatly any thing which might have been expected from the surface under his rule, and the wild and jungly nature of some parts of it, and can only be accounted for by the remarkable population and fertility of those districts which are really productive. Out of these revenues he has only 3000 irregular horse to pay, his subsidiary force being provided for out of the ceded territory, and he is therefore, pro-

bably, in more flourishing circumstances, and possesses more real power than any sovereign of India except Runjeet Singh. Sindia, and, perhaps, the Raja of Mysore, might have been excepted, but the former, though with three times his extent of territory, has a very imperfect controul over the greater part of it, and, indeed, cannot govern his own house: and the latter is, apparently, intent on nothing but amusing himself, and wasting his income on costly follies of state coaches and gimcracks, to which the Guicwar wisely prefers the manner of living usual with his ancestors.

On *Sunday, March* 20, I consecrated the church, preached, and administered the sacrament. The chaplain is Mr. Keays, a young man who is well spoken of, and seems to like his situation; he and his family have as yet enjoyed good health, though Guzerât is reckoned one of the worst climates in India, being intensely hot the greater part of the year, with a heavy thickness of atmosphere which few people can endure. It is in the same latitude with Calcutta, and seems to be what Bengal would be without the glorious Ganges.

*March* 21.—The morning of this day I was busily employed in preparing for the discharge of all my Hindoostanee people, who were impatient to return, together with their elephants and camels. Mr. Williams kindly assured me that all necessary aids of the sort would be forthcoming from the commissariat.

In the evening we went in all the state which we could muster, to pay our visit to the Guicwar, who received us, with the usual Eastern forms, in a long narrow room, approached by a very mean and steep stair-case. The hall itself was hung with red cloth, adorned with a great number of paltry English prints, lamps, and wall-shades, and with a small fountain in the centre. At the upper end were cushions piled on the ground as his Highness's musnud, with chairs placed in a row on his left hand for the Resident and his party. The evening went off in the usual form, with Nâch girls, Persian musicians, &c. and the only things particularly worthy of notice were, that his Highness went through the form of giving

the Resident and myself a private audience in his own study, a little hot room up sundry pair of stairs, with a raised sofa, a punkah, and other articles of European comfort, as well as two large mirrors, a print of Buonaparte, and another of the duke of Wellington. He there shewed me a musical snuff-box with a little bird, in which he seemed to take much pride, and an imperfect but handsome copy of the Shah Nameh, of which he desired me to accept. The rest of our conversation consisted of enquiries after the Governor General, the war, the distance from Calcutta, and other such princely topics, till, a reasonable time for our consultation having elapsed, we returned down stairs again. The next thing that struck me was the manner in which the heir apparent, the little boy before mentioned, made his appearance in the durbar, announced by nearly the same acclamations as his father, and salaming, as he advanced, to the persons of rank, with almost equal grace, and more than equal gravity. After bending very low, and touching the ground before his father's seat, he went up to Mr. Williams with the appearance of great pleasure, climbed upon his knee, and asked him for a pencil and paper with which he began to scribble much like my own dear little girl. The third circumstance I remarked was the general unconstrained, and even lively conversation which was carried on between the Raja, his courtiers, and Mr. Williams, who talked about their respective hunting feats, the merits of their elephants, &c., much as, mutatis mutandis, a party in England might have done. The Raja was anxious to know whether I had observed his rhinoceros, and his hunting tygers, and offered to shew me a day's sport with the last, or to bait an elephant for me, a cruel amusement which is here not uncommon. He had a long rallying dispute with one of the Thakoors as to an elephant which, the Raja said, the Thakoor had promised to give him for this sport; and I do not think he understood my motives for declining to be present at it. A Mussulman, however, who sat near him, seemed pleased by my refusal, said it was "very good," and asked me if any of the English clergy attended such sports. I

said it was a maxim with most of us to do no harm to any creature needlessly; which was, he said, the doctrine of their learned men also. Mr. Williams told me that this sort of conversation, which was very little disturbed by the most strenuous efforts which the poor singers and dancing-girls could make to attract attention, was characteristic of a Maharatta durbar, and that he had known the most serious business carried on by fits and starts in the midst of all this seeming levity. At last, about eight o'clock, the Raja told us that he would keep us from our dinner no longer; and the usual presents were brought in, which were, however, much more valuable than any which I had seen, and evidently of a kind, very few of which were within the compass of my redeeming from the Company. About nine we got back to dinner, hungry enough, and a little tired, but for my own part both amused and interested.

The Raja offered to return my visit next day; but, knowing that Tuesday is, in the estimation of all Hindoos, unlucky, I named Wednesday in preference, telling him my reason. He answered very politely, that he should account every day lucky in which he had the opportunity of cultivating my acquaintance, but was evidently well pleased. He had already, out of civility, and in consequence of being informed that I received no visits on Sunday, waved one prejudice in my favour; since the day on which I arrived, being the last day of their month, was one on which he usually never stirred from home.

I forgot to mention that before breakfast this morning I rode to see a tomb in the neighbourhood, of tolerable Mussulman architecture, but much dilapidated, and really not worth dismounting for. Its apparent estimation in the eyes of the inhabitants of Baroda, gave me but an humble idea of the ruins of Ahmedabad.

*March* 22.—I was busy all day writing, and have nothing particular to record, except that the hot wind had now set in very decidedly, and was oppressive, though in my own tent, and by the help of tatties, I escaped better than most people. A tent, overshadowed as mine fortunately is by thick trees, is an excellent

house for such weather, and better than any rooms in the small house which, during the day time, Mr. and Miss Williams occupy. But the English of this Presidency do not seem to manage the hot weather so well as those of Bengal and Hindostan.

*March* 23.—Several of the principal Thakoors of the court, as well as some Patan military chiefs, and some wealthy shroffs of the city, sent messages to Mr. Williams to express a desire to call on me, and become better acquainted than was possible at a public Durbar. This was a sort of interest, Mr. Williams said, which he had never known them shew before; and he therefore proposed that I should give up the morning to see native company, good-naturedly promising to stay with me, both to introduce my visitors, and to help my imperfect knowledge of the language. About twenty persons called, comprising the greater part of those to whom I had been introduced the day of my arrival. Three of them were very young men, or rather boys, the sons of the late minister, Shastree, who, as I have already stated, was assassinated at Poonah by the suggestion of Trimbukjee. The youngest, a very fine and interesting lad, was learning English, which he spoke very well and with but little foreign accent. I asked him what English work he studied, and he answered, "I am reading the book of Elegant Extracts." His tutor is a Parsee. Some little time since he had picked up, Mr. Williams said, a New Testament, and read it with delight; till his Brahmin Gooroo, finding the nature of the book, took it from him. This is the first instance of such jealousy which has fallen in my way, and for this, I suspect that the insinuations of the Parsee tutor (all of whose nation are very suspicious about Christianity,) were rather to blame than the prejudices of the simple Hindoo. I hope to send him another book from Bombay, which may offend prejudice less, and yet may eventually, by God's blessing, be of some use to him.

There were two or three Patans who asked many questions about the present state of Rohilcund, and listened with great interest to the account which I gave them of the improvements

making and intended to be made at Bareilly, the repair of Hafez Rehmut's tomb, and the appropriation of the town duties to these and other local purposes. One of these men, who holds a high military command, but whose name has escaped me, was a relation to the tusseeldar of Futtehgunge, and a very well-bred and sensible man. He came earliest and sate longest, and, from his pure Hindoostanee, I understood him the best of the whole party. He, and another of his countrymen, gave me very affectionate embraces at parting, saying, "Do not forget Rohilcund and Guzerât." Fond as they seemed of the former country, they did not appear to have any intention of returning thither. A Cuttywar Raja asked much about Meru and Badrinâth, and meandered on, at some length, about Indra's Heaven which lay beyond them. I did not understand much of his story, which was at length cut short by some contemptuous ejaculations of his Mussulman neighbour from Rohilcund, who said that he remembered the hills very well, but that all this was nonsense. Mr. Williams observed that the Lord Sahib had also seen "Kâf." "Aye," said the Mussulman, "those *are* famous hills! There is the Mount Al Judi (Ararat) and the Ark of Huzrut Noah (St. Noah) may be seen there to this day. There are also Hajiuge and Majiuge (Gog and Magog)." I told him that I had seen Kâf, but had not been so far as Mount Ararat; though I believed that the "burra Sahib" (Mr. Williams) had seen it, which he confirmed, having been in Persia with Sir John Malcolm; but that I had seen Kâf from Russia, which lay on the other side. Another Mussulman here expressed a surprise, which was both natural and shewed his intelligence. "Did you see it in this journey? I thought that both Kâf and Russia were a very great distance from any part of Hindostan." I explained to him, of course, where my former travels had been, and found that he was well acquainted with the names both of Russia and Ustumboul, which last he explained, of his own accord, to be "Cunstuntinoopla," though he did not seem to know much about their relative situations. This was a young

man, whom the other called "Nawâb," but whose name I could not catch. He asked after "Duke Wellington," and said that his father had been well-known to him during the war in the Deckan. Mr. Williams asked the Cuttywar Raja some questions respecting a new sect of Hindoos which had arisen in his neighbourhood, and which he told me at the same time, in English, that this Raja had attempted to put down by force of arms, but had not been allowed to do so. He answered in rather a fretful tone, that "there were too many of them," and in reply to a question, what their religion was?—that "they had no religion at all, but a hatred of their superiors, and of all lawful authority." I asked this orthodox old gentleman if he could give me any information about the vagabond pilgrims whom I met near Gurmukteser, and who described themselves as coming from the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad. He said that by my account of them they were not true Hindoos; but that there were many wild people in the district who professed a sort of Hindooism. Those whom I encountered were probably pilgrims; and if I had drawn a line in the sand across their path, they would have been obliged to go round one of its extremities, not daring to step over it. I asked if the character which they bore of being "Thugs," was deserved? He seemed never to have heard of the name, which was, however, perfectly understood by the Patans. I conclude, therefore, that the practice is not so common in these provinces as it is said to be further North.

About sun-set the Raja came in state, and was received accordingly by Mr. Williams in a very large dinner tent, where nearly the same forms took place (mutatis mutandis) as occurred during my visit to him. The little boy was put on my knee to-day, partly, I believe, as a compliment, and partly to give the Guicwar an opportunity of talking over some private business with Mr. Williams, (as I afterwards learned) whom he informed in a low voice, that he had a daughter a year older than this little boy, whom, consequently, it was high time he should bestow in marriage;

that he had an excellent match for her in the son of a Raja in the Deckan, but that he had no money to pay the necessary expences; and hoped, therefore, that the Government would join him in a security for five lacs of rupees, in order that he might obtain them at more reasonable interest than he could otherwise hope to do. Mr. Williams, in the same voice, told him that the Government, he much feared, would never consent to such a measure; on which the Raja came down in his request to four and even three lacs, his wish to obtain which last sum Mr. Williams promised to transmit to Government. This, Mr. Williams afterwards told me, is a specimen of the way in which important business was often introduced and discussed in the midst of crowds and ceremonial parties. On my observing that the wish to obtain money did not tally with all which I had heard of the Raja's wealth and covetousness, he answered that the Raja always distinguished his personal savings from the national property; that he expected his daughter to be portioned out by the state; but that if he could get sufficient security, he was able and likely, under a borrowed name, himself to lend the money. While this conversation was going on, I was doing my best to entertain my little friend, to whom, in addition to the present destined for him on account of the Company, I gave a huge native coloured drawing on vellum, of the Howa Mahil at Jyepoor, with which he seemed greatly pleased, and which, by the explanation of the different objects which it contained, afforded more conversation than it would have been otherwise easy for me to keep up with him, though he was really a lively and forward boy. He was fond of riding both horses and elephants, but the "Sircar," Sovereign, (meaning his father) had not yet taken him out hunting. He had begun to read and write in Maharatta, but in no other language, and was fonder of drawing pictures than letters, the same word, "likna," being used both for drawing and writing. His father, who engaged as he was on the other side, contrived very dexterously to bestow all necessary attention on me, bid him ask me about my journey, but I do not think he knew

any of the names of places which I mentioned, except, perhaps, Calcutta and Delhi. All the rest of the world was, in his vocabulary, "Belattee."

There was a good deal of Persian singing and instrumental music, the character of which does not seem a want of harmony, but dullness and languor. The airs were sung sotto voce; the instruments, chiefly guitars, were low-toned and struck in a monotonous manner; and the effect intended to be produced seemed rather repose and luxurious languor, than any more ardent or animated feeling. One man, a native of Lucknow, had a good natural voice, and two of the women sang prettily. The tunes had first parts only. The Nâch women were, as usual, ugly, huddled up in huge bundles of red petticoats; and their exhibition as dull and insipid to an European taste as could well be conceived. In fact nobody in the room seemed to pay them any attention, all being engaged in conversation, though in an under voice, and only with their near neighbours. About eight the Raja went away; and we sate down to dinner, but not till I had discovered that the greater part of the camels which the Raja had promised to lend me for my journey had not yet arrived, and that it would be impossible for me to send off, as I had intended, my baggage and servants that night. I now regretted that I had dismissed the Hindoostanee elephants and camels, but there was no use in repining.

*March* 25.—This morning Dr. Smith and I were up at four o'clock, and, with a good deal of exertion, succeeded in assembling the camels and bearers and fairly setting our servants on their way. We ourselves remained till the evening, and then set off to join the camp. Archdeacon Barnes accompanied me, and Mr. Williams and several other gentlemen rode out with me three or four miles to a boolee, at which I found, to my surprise that, in addition to the four Bombay troopers whom he had sent me before, we were joined by Bappoojee Maharatta (his Dewan) with six silver sticks and spear-men, and above fifty Guicwar horse, with their standard

and nagari. I pleaded that these were really unnecessary, considering the numerous guard of sepoys, fifty men, whom I had sent on with the baggage. He answered, however, that though less might in Hindostan, here these outward forms were both desirable and necessary! To this I could say nothing, and proceeded on my march; though I could not help thinking that since the days of Thomas a Becket or Cardinal Wolsey, an English Bishop had seldom been so formidably attended. From Mr. Williams I had received in every respect very gratifying attention and kindness; and it was a great satisfaction to me to know that he intended to visit Bombay at the same time with myself, and that my dear wife also would know and like him.

Our road for about eight miles lay over a highly cultivated country, with many round-topped trees and high green hedges; the villages, which were numerous, were all more in the European than the Indian style; and, to complete the likeness, had large stacks of hay in their neighbourhood piled up and thatched like those in England. The custom of keeping hay as fodder does not exist in any other part of India which I have seen, but is here universal. As day closed we left the open country, and entered some extremely deep and narrow ravines, with sides of crumbling earth, the convexity of which was evidently the work of the waters of the monsoon in their annual course to the Mhye. The summits of these steep banks were overgrown with brushwood; nor could a more favourable place be desired to favour the spring of a tyger, or the arrows of an ambushed band of robbers. Our numbers, our noise, and the torches which some of the servants carried during this part of our journey, were enough, I should conceive, to keep either description of ferocious animals at a distance. Both kinds, however, are very abundant along the banks of the Mhye and in its neighbourhood; passengers had been very recently stopped and plundered here by Bheels; and two months ago a tyger had carried off a man from a numerous convoy of artillery on its march to Kairah. On the whole, as one of the party observed, "on a road

like this, and in such a country, too many guards were better than too few." After about four miles and a half of this kind of road, we arrived on the banks of the Mhye, high, precipitous, and woody, with a broad bright stream, in spite of all the recent drought, wandering in a still wider bed of gravel and sand. Here too I found that the watchful kindness of Mr. Williams had provided for us, in giving notice of my coming to the Collector of the Kairah district, who had sent some fishermen acquainted with the ford, and a body of Bheels in the pay of the police, to assist us in crossing, and guide us to the encampment, which was about three miles further at a village named Wasnud.

Nothing could be more picturesque than this "passage of the Granicus." The moon was sufficiently bright to shew the wild and woodland character of the landscape, and the brightness and ripple of the water, without overpowering the effect of the torches as they issued from the wood, and the other torches which our guides carried, and which shone on groupes of men, horses, and camels, as wild and singular as were ever assembled in the fancy of a Salvator Rosa. I thought of Walter Scott's account of the salmon fishing; but this show exceeded that as much as the naked limbs, platted elf-locks, and loose mantles of the Bheels, with their bows, arrows, and swords, the polished helmets of our regular troopers, the broad, brocaded, swallow-tailed banner of the Guicwar, and the rude but gorgeous chivalry of his cavaliers on long-tailed horses and in long cotton caftans, their shields behind their backs, their battle-axes pendent from their saddle-bows, and long spears or harquebuzes with lighted matches over their shoulders, surpassed the most picturesque assortment of hodden grey, blue bonnets, and fish-spears. The water, though broad, was no where deep. It ran, however, with a brisker stream than from having seen its exhausted condition nearer to its source I had expected. But on this side of Cheeta Talao it receives many other mountain-streams; and some of these, it is reasonable to suppose, have escaped better in the general drought, and saved the

credit of their suzerain before his appearance in the court of Neptune.

We arrived at Wasnud heartily tired both man and beast; the heat of the day had been intense, and our evening march had led us through places where no breeze blew; my little Arab horse Nedjeed, as soon as he saw the comfortable bed of straw provided for him, sunk down on it like a dog, and was asleep before the saddle was well off his back. The Bheels were to be our watchmen as well as guides; and their shrill calls from one to the other were heard all night. We were told not to be surprised at this choice, since these poor thieves are, when trusted, the trustiest of men, and of all sentries the most wakeful and indefatigable. They and the Kholees, a race almost equally wild, are uniformly preferred in Guzerât for the service of the police, and as durwâns to gentlemen's houses and gardens. All such persons are here called sepoys, and with more accuracy than the regular troops, inasmuch as their weapons are still really the bow and arrow, "sip," whence the Asiatic soldier derives his appellation.

*March* 25.—We resumed our march at the usual hour, and went, through a well-cultivated, enclosed, and prettily wooded country, eleven miles to Emaad, a small village with a large tank not quite dry. In our way we were met by twenty of the Chuprassees, or, to use the language of the country, the sepoys, of the Collector Mr. Williamson, all of the Kholee caste, rather short but broad-set and muscular men, with a harshness, not to say ferocity, in the countenances of many of them which remarkably differed from the singularly mild and calm physiognomy usually met with in the other side of India. They were well and smartly dressed in green and scarlet kirtles, with black turbans, had every man his small round buckler and sheaf of arrows at his back, his sword and dagger by his side, and long bow in his hand, and excepting in their dusky complexions, were no bad representatives of Robin Hood and his sturdy yeomen. About half-way we were overtaken by Mr. Williamson himself,

who rode with us to our camp, as did also Captain Ovans, who was encamped near and employed in taking a survey of the country. This gentleman brought with him some specimens of his maps, which are extremely minute, extending to the smallest details usually expressed in the survey of a gentleman's property in England, with a copious field book, and a particular statement of the average number of farms, tanks, hills, orchards, &c. in each townland. The execution of the maps is very neat, and their drawing said to be wonderfully accurate, though the mapping, measurement, and angles are, as well as the drawing, by native assistants. All which Captain Ovans seems to do is generally to superintend their operations, to give them instructions in cases of difficulty, to notice any error which he may discover in their calculations, and to cover with ink and finish for the inspection of Government the maps which they delineate in pencil. Their neatness, delicacy, and patience in the use of the different instruments and the pencil, he spoke of as really extraordinary; and he was no less satisfied with their intelligence, acuteness, and readiness in the acquisition of the necessary degree of mathematical science. From these gentlemen I gleaned several interesting facts about the inhabitants of this country.

Its wilder parts are pretty generally occupied by the Bheels, concerning whom I am able to add little to what I said before. The other and more settled inhabitants are either Mussulmans, of whom the number is but small; Hindoo bunyans; Rajpoots of a degenerate description, and chiefly occupied in cultivating the soil; Maharattas, who are not by any means numerous except in and about the Guicwar's court; and Kholees, or, as they are pretty generally called, Coolies. These last form perhaps two-thirds of the population, and are considered by public men in Guzerât as the original inhabitants of the country, a character which, I know not why, they refuse to the Bheels, who here, as in Malwah, seem to have the best title to it. I suspect, indeed, myself, that the Coolies are only civilized Bheels, who have laid aside some of the

wild habits of their ancestors, and who have learned, more particularly, to conform in certain respects, such as abstinence from beef, &c. to their Hindoo neighbours. They themselves pretend to be descended from the Rajpoots, but this is a claim continually made by wild and warlike tribes all over India, and it is made, more particularly, by the Puharree villagers at the foot of Rajmahal who have embraced the Hindoo religion; and that the Coolies themselves do not believe their claim, is apparent from the fact that they neither wear the silver badge, nor the red turban. Be this as it may, they are acknowledged by the Hindoos as their kindred, which the Bheels never are; and though their claim of being children of the sun is not allowed by the Rajpoots who live among them, there have been instances in which intermarriages have taken place between Maharattas of high rank and the families of some of their most powerful chieftains.

Their ostensible and, indeed, their chief employment, is agriculture, and they are said to be often industrious farmers and labourers, and, while kindly treated, to pay their rent to Government as well, at least, as their Rajpoot neighbours. They live, however, under their own Thakoors, whose authority alone they willingly acknowledge, and pay little respect to the laws, unless when it suits their interest, or they are constrained by the presence of an armed force. In other respects they are one of the most turbulent and predatory tribes in India, and with the Bheels, make our tenure of Guzerât more disturbed, and the maintenance of our authority more expensive there, than in any other district of the Eastern empire. The cutcherries, and even the dwelling-houses of the civil servants of the Company, are uniformly placed within, instead of without, the cities and towns, a custom ruinous to health and comfort, but accounted a necessary precaution against the desperate attacks to which they might otherwise be liable. The magistrates and collectors have a larger force of armed men in their employ than any others of the same rank whom I have met with; and the regular troops, and even the European

cavalry are continually called out against them. Yet in no country are the roads so insecure,—in none are forays and plundering excursions of every kind more frequent; or a greater proportion of, what would be called in Europe, the gentry and landed proprietors addicted to acts of violence and bloodshed. In these plundering parties they often display a very desperate courage; and it is to their honour, that, rude and lawless as they are, they do not apparently delight in blood for its own sake, and neither mutilate, torture, nor burn the subjects of their cupidity or revenge, like the far worse "decoits" of Bengal and Ireland.

They are hardy, stout men, particularly those of the Catteywar and Cutch districts. Their usual dress is a petticoat round the waist, like that of the Bheels, and a cotton cloth wrapped round their heads and shoulders, which, when they wish to be smart, they gather up into a very large white turban. In cold weather, or when drest, they add a quilted cotton kirtle, or "lebada," over which they wear a shirt of mail, with vaunt-braces and gauntlets, and never consider themselves as fit to go abroad without a sword, buckler, bow and arrows, to which their horsemen add a long spear and battle-axe. The cotton lebada is generally stained and iron-moulded by the mail shirt, and, as might be expected, these marks, being tokens of their martial occupation, are reckoned honourable, insomuch that their young warriors often counterfeit them with oil or soot, and do their best to get rid as soon as possible of the burgher-like whiteness of a new dress. This is said to be the real origin of the story told by Hamilton, that the Coolies despise and revile all cleanly and decent clothing as base and effeminate. In other respects they are fond of finery; their shields are often very handsome, with silver bosses, and composed of rhinoceros hide; their battle-axes richly inlaid, and their spears surrounded with many successive rings of silver. Their bows are like those of the Bheels, but stronger, and in better order; and their arrows are carried in a quiver of red and embroidered leather. In their marauding expeditions they often

use great secresy, collecting in the night at the will of some popular chieftain, communicated generally by the circulation of a certain token, known only to those concerned, like the fiery cross of the Scottish Highlanders. They frequently leave their families in complete ignorance as to where or why they are going; and the only way in which, should one of their number fall in battle, the survivors communicate his loss to his widow or parents, is by throwing before his door some sprigs of the peepul, plucked and disposed in a particular form.

On other occasions, however, their opposition to law has been sufficiently open and daring. The districts of Cutch and Catteywar have ever been, more or less, in a state of rebellion; and neither the Regency of the former state, nor the Guicwar, as feudal sovereign of the latter, nor the English Government in the districts adjoining to both which are under their controul, have ever got through a year without one or more sieges of different forts or fastnesses.

Some good had been done, Mr. Williamson said, among many of these wild people, by the preaching and popularity of the Hindoo reformer, Swaamee Narain, who had been mentioned to me at Baroda. His morality was said to be far better than any which could be learned from the Shaster. He preached a great degree of purity, forbidding his disciples so much as to look on any woman whom they passed. He condemned theft and bloodshed; and those villages and districts, which had received him, from being among the worst, were now among the best and most orderly in the provinces. Nor was this all, insomuch as he was said to have destroyed the yoke of caste,—to have preached one God, and, in short, to have made so considerable approaches to the truth, that I could not but hope he might be an appointed instrument to prepare the way for the Gospel.

While I was listening with much interest to Mr. Williamson's account of this man, six persons came to the tent, four in the dress of peasants or bunyans, one, a young man, with a large white

turban, and the quilted lebada of a Coolie, but clean and decent, with a handsome sword and shield, and other marks of rustic wealth; and the sixth, an old Mussulman, with a white beard, and pretty much the appearance, dress, and manner of an ancient serving-man. After offering some sugar and sweetmeats as their nuzzur, and, as usual, sitting down on the ground, one of the peasants began, to my exceeding surprise and delight, "Pundit Swaamee Narain, sends his salaam," and proceeded to say that the person whom I so much desired to see was in the neighbourhood, and asked permission to call on me next day. I, of course, returned a favourable answer, and stated with truth, that I greatly desired his acquaintance, and had heard much good of him. I asked if they were his disciples, and was answered in the affirmative. The first spokesman told me that the young man now in company was the eldest son of a Coolie Thakoor, whose father was one of the Pundit's great friends, that he was himself a Rajpoot and ryut, that the old man in green was a Mussulman sepoy in the Thakoor's service, and sent to attend on his young master. He added, that though of different castes, they were all disciples of Swaamee Narain, and taught to regard each other as brethren. They concluded by asking me when I was to go next day, and appointed, in their teacher's name, that he would visit me at Nerriad in the forenoon; they then took their leave, I having first embraced the Thakoor, and sent my salaam both to his father and his Gooroo.

On asking Mr. Williamson about the state of knowledge in this province, and the facility which it afforded for establishing schools, he said that there were large schools in most of the principal towns, where the children of the bunyans learnt writing, reading, accounts, and such portions of the national religion as their caste is allowed to receive. But there was no gratuitous instruction; and the ryuts from poverty, and the Coolie Thakoors from indifference, very seldom, if ever, sent their children. They had no objection, however, except that of expence; and he did not doubt

that if Government, or any religious society, would institute schools, they would be attended with thankfulness and punctuality.

I asked him if the Government were popular; he did not think that it was particularly otherwise, and ascribed the various tumults and rising of the Guzerâttees to their famines, which frequently reduced whole families and villages to the state of "broken men," and to their long previous habits of misrule and anarchy, rather than to any political grievances. The valuation of their lands, he said, was moderate; it was only from year to year, but in a country where the crops were so precarious, a longer settlement was not desired by the people themselves. Even according to the present system, Government were often compelled to make great abatements, and, on most occasions, had shewn themselves indulgent masters.

The greatest evil of the land here, as elsewhere in India, is the system of the Adawlut Courts, their elaborate and intricate machinery, their intolerable and expensive delays, and the severity of their debtor and creditor laws. Even in the Adawlut, however, a very essential improvement had been introduced by Mr. Elphinstone in discarding the Persian language, and appointing all proceedings to be in that of Guzerât. Still there remained many evils, and in a land so eaten up by poverty on the one hand, and usury on the other, the most calamitous results continually followed, and the most bitter indignation was often excited by the judgements, ejectments, and other acts of the Court, which though intended only to do justice between man and man, yet frequently depopulated villages, undid ancient families, pulled down men's hereditary and long-possessed houses over their heads, and made the judges hated and feared by the great body of the people as practising severities in the recovery of private debts, which none of the native governors, however otherwise oppressive, either ventured to do, or thought of doing. One good effect has, indeed, followed, that by making a debt more easy to recover, the rate of interest has been lessened. But this is a poor compensation for

the evils of a system which, to pay a debt, no matter how contracted, strips the weaver of his loom, the husbandman of his plough, and pulls the roof from the castle of the feudal chieftain, and which, when a village is once abandoned by its inhabitants in a time of famine, makes it next to impossible for those inhabitants, who are all more or less in debt, to return, in better times, to their houses and lands again.

The hot wind blew fiercely all the day, and, though it ceased at night, was followed by a calm more close and oppressive still. I had certainly no conception that any where in India the month of March could offer such a furnace-like climate. The servants all complained of it, and hoped that I should not stay long in this province; if I did they were sure that we should all die: and in truth their apprehensions seemed not altogether unreasonable. Here, indeed, I was far, very far from regretting that my wife and children were not with me; and I rejoiced, on the other hand, that as Guzerât was some time or other to be visited, I was now getting over the most remote, most expensive, and certainly not the most interesting or most healthy part of my Diocese, in the only visitation journey (I hope) during which I am likely to be separated from them.

The fertility of Guzerât, in favourable years, is great, particularly in sugar and tobacco; and the revenue of the Collectorate at Kairah is said to exceed, at such times, 37 lacs, an enormous sum for so small a district, but from which many deductions must be made on account of the strangely frequent droughts to which all this part of India is liable, and the very large police and military establishments which its disordered state, and the martial habits of the people, require.

*March* 26.—We marched to Nerriad, a large and well-built town, containing, as its Cutwal told me, about 15,000 people. The neighbourhood is very highly cultivated, and full of groves of fruit-trees, and large tanks. Of the latter, the greater number are, unhappily, now dry. We were lodged, by Mr. Williamson's order,

in his cutcherry, a part of which is used for the occasional reception of himself and his friends. It consists of an enclosure surrounded by a high wall and buildings of various descriptions in the heart of the town, and calculated to hold and shelter, conveniently, a considerable number of horses and people. The bungalow itself, as it is called, is a tall, long, shallow building, containing on the ground-floor two dark and close apartments, with a staircase between them, and above, two more, full of windows, without verandahs or any other means of shutting out the sun or hot wind, and so near the tiled roof that nothing could well be hotter in weather like the present, and we much regretted that we had not adhered to our old system of pitching the tents, with tatties, outside the town. The heat was great all day, and even before the sun was up.

About eleven o'clock I had the expected visit from Swaamee Narain, to my interview with whom I had looked forward with an anxiety and eagerness which, if he had known it, would, perhaps, have flattered him. He came in a somewhat different style from all which I expected, having with him near 200 horsemen, mostly well-armed with matchlocks and swords, and several of them with coats of mail and spears. Besides them he had a large rabble on foot, with bows and arrows, and when I considered that I had myself an escort of more than fifty horse, and fifty musquets and bayonets, I could not help smiling, though my sensations were in some degree painful and humiliating, at the idea of two religious teachers meeting at the head of little armies, and filling the city, which was the scene of their interview, with the rattling of quivers, the clash of shields, and the tramp of the war-horse. Had our troops been opposed to each other, mine, though less numerous, would have been, doubtless, far more effective from the superiority of arms and discipline. But, in moral grandeur, what a difference was there between his troop and mine. Mine neither knew me, nor cared for me; they escorted me faithfully, and would have defended me bravely, because they were ordered by their superiors

to do so, and as they would have done for any other stranger of sufficient worldly rank to make such an attendance usual. The guards of Swaamee Narain were his own disciples and enthusiastic admirers, men who had voluntarily repaired to hear his lessons, who now took a pride in doing him honour, and who would cheerfully fight to the last drop of blood rather than suffer a fringe of his garment to be handled roughly. In the parish of Hodnet there were once, perhaps, a few honest countrymen who felt something like this for me; but how long a time must elapse before any Christian Teacher in India can hope to be thus loved and honoured! Yet surely there is some encouragement to patient labour which a Christian Minister may derive from the success of such men as these in India,—inasmuch as where others can succeed in obtaining a favourable hearing for doctrines, in many respects, at variance with the general and received system of Hindooism,—the time may surely be expected, through God's blessing, when *our* endeavours also, may receive their fruit, and our hitherto almost barren Church may " keep house and be a joyful mother of children."

The armed men who attended Swaamee Narain were under the authority, as it appeared, of a venerable old man, of large stature, with a long grey beard and most voluminous turban, the father of the young Thakoor who had called on me the day before. He came into the room first, and, after the usual embrace, introduced the holy man himself, who was a middle-sized, thin, and plain-looking person, about my own age, with a mild and diffident expression of countenance, but nothing about him indicative of any extraordinary talent. I seated him on a chair at my right-hand, and offered two more to the Thakoor and his son, of which, however, they did not avail themselves without first placing their hands under the feet of their spiritual guide, and then pressing them reverently to their foreheads. Others of the principal disciples, to the number of twenty or thirty, seated themselves on the ground, and several of my own Mussulman servants, who seemed

much interested in what was going on, thrust in their faces at the door, or ranged themselves behind me. After the usual mutual compliments, I said that I had heard much good of him, and the good doctrine which he preached among the poor people of Guzerât, and that I greatly desired his acquaintance; that I regretted that I knew Hindoostanee so imperfectly, but that I should be very glad, so far as my knowledge of the language allowed, and by the interpretation of friends, to learn what he believed on religious matters, and to tell him what I myself believed, and that if he would come and see me at Kairah, where we should have more leisure, I would have a tent pitched for him and treat him like a brother. I said this because I was very earnestly desirous of getting him a copy of the Scriptures, of which I had none with me, in the Nagree character, and persuading him to read them; and because I had some further hopes of inducing him to go with me to Bombay, where I hoped that by conciliatory treatment, and the conversations to which I might introduce him with the Church Missionary Society established in that neighbourhood, I might do him more good than I could otherwise hope to do.

I saw that both he and, still more, his disciples, were highly pleased by the invitation which I gave him, but he said, in reply, that his life was one of very little leisure, that he had 5000 disciples now attending on his preaching in the neighbouring villages, and nearly 50,000 in different parts of Guzerât, that a great number of these were to assemble together in the course of next week, on occasion of his brother's son coming of age to receive the brahminical string, but that if I staid long enough in the neighbourhood to allow him to get this engagement over, he would gladly come again to see me. "In the mean time," I said, "have you any objection to communicate some part of your doctrine now?" It was evidently what he came to do, and his disciples very visibly exulted in the opportunity of his, perhaps, converting me. He began, indeed, well, professing to believe in one only God, the Maker of all things in Heaven and earth, who filled all space,

upheld and governed all things, and, more particularly, dwelt in the hearts of those who diligently sought him ; but he alarmed me by calling the God whom he worshipped Krishna, and by saying that he had come down to earth in ancient times, had been put to death by wicked men through Magic, and that since his time many false revelations had been pretended, and many false divinities set up. This declaration, I say, alarmed me, because notwithstanding the traits of resemblance which it bore to the history of our Lord, traits which are in fact to be found in the midst of all the uncleanness and folly in the popular legends respecting Krishna, I did not like the introduction of a name so connected with many obscene and monstrous follies. I observed, therefore, that I always had supposed that Hindoos called the God and Father of all, not Krishna but Brihm, and I wished, therefore, to know whether his God was Brihm, or somebody distinct from him? The name of Brihm appeared to cause great sensation among his disciples, of whom some whispered with each other, and one or two nodded and smiled as if to say "that is the very name." The pundit also smiled and bowed, and with the air of a man who is giving instruction to a willing and promising pupil, said, "a true word it is that there is only one God who is above all and in all things, and by whom all things are. Many names there may be, and have been, given to him who *is* and is *the same*, but whom we also as well as the other Hindoos call Brihm. But there is a Spirit in whom God is more especially, and who cometh from God, and is with God, and is likewise God, who hath made known to men the will of the God and Father of all, whom we call Krishna and worship as God's image, and believe to be the same as the sun 'Surya.'"

I now thought a fair opportunity was given me, and said, with rather more fluency than I had hoped to do, "O pundit, it is a true saying and to be received of all men, that God is every where, that there is no other besides him, that he dwells in the heart and prompts every good thought and word." "Ullah Acbar," said one of the Mussulmans. "It is also true as you have well said,

that it is by his Word, whom we call his Son, who is with the Father, and in whom the Father dwells, that the invisible God has made himself and his will known to mankind." Here one of the Mussulmans left the room; perceiving which, and being anxious to keep the remainder a little longer, I said, addressing the old Mussulman sepoy who came with the Thakoor, "you, sir, know what I mean, for you know what Mohammed has written of Jesus the Son of Mary, that he was the Breath of God and born of a virgin. But is not the breath of a man, the son of his mouth? is not the word of a man his breath, reduced to form and produced by him? When therefore we say that Jesus son of Mary is the Son of God, we mean that he is his Word, his Breath, proceeding from him and one with him from all eternity. But we cannot believe," I returned to the pundit, "that the sun which we see in the sky can be either God, or that Word who is one with him, since the sun rises and sets, is sometimes on this side of the world and sometimes on that. But God is every where at once, and fills all things." The Pundit replied, if I understood him right, that the sun is not God, but even as God for brightness and glory. But he said that their belief was, that there had been many avatars of God in different lands, one to the Christians, another to the Mussulmans, another to the Hindoos in time past, adding something like a hint, that another avatar of Krishna, or the Sun, had taken place in himself. I answered, "O Pundit-jee! God has spoken in many ways and at many times by Prophets; but it is hard to believe that a single avatar might not be sufficient for the whole world. But on this and many other points, we may, if it please God, talk hereafter." I then asked if he could read the Persian character, and on his answering in the negative, I expressed my concern that I had no copies of our Sacred Books with me in the Nagree, but said that if he would accept a volume or two, by way of keeping me in his remembrance, I would send them to him either from Kairah or Bombay. I then asked in what way he and his followers

worshipped God, and finding that the question seemed to perplex him, I made Abdullah read the Lord's Prayer in Hindoostanee to shew what I meant, and as a specimen of what we repeated daily. I found, however, that he supposed me to ask in what form they worshipped God, and he therefore unrolled a large picture in glaring colours, of a naked man with rays proceeding from his face like the sun, and two women fanning him; the man white, the women black. I asked him how that could be the God who filled every thing and was every where? He answered that it was not God himself, but the picture or form in which God dwelt in his heart: I told him, as well as I could, (for to say the truth my fluency had begun to fail) what Christians and Mussulmans thought as to the worship of images; but did not decline receiving some paltry little prints of his divinity in various attitudes, which I said I should value as keepsakes. I asked about castes, to which he answered, that he did not regard the subject as of much importance, but that he wished not to give offence; that people might eat separately or together in this world, but that above "oopur," pointing to heaven, those distinctions would cease, where we should be all "ek ekhee jât," (one like another). A little further conversation of no great consequence followed, which was ended by my giving attar and pawn to the pundit, the two Thakoors, and some of the other more distinguished disciples whom he pointed out to me. We mutually took down each other's names in writing. I again pressed him to let me see him once more before I left the country, which he promised if possible; and we bad adieu with much mutual good-will, and a promise of praying for each other, which by God's help I mean to keep. On the whole it was plain that his advances towards truth had not yet been so great as I had been told, but it was also apparent that he had obtained a great power over a wild people, which he used at present to a good purpose; and though I feared to alarm him by beginning too rashly, I could not but earnestly desire further means and opportunity of

putting him in a yet better way than he was now pursuing; but I thought from all which I saw that it would be to no advantage to ask him to accompany me to Bombay.

In the evening Dr. Barnes and I proceeded eleven miles more in our palanqueens to Kairah, bearers having been sent from that place to meet us. There is no regular system of dâk here, nor (that I can learn) in any part of this Presidency. Bearers, or "hamauls," as they call them by an Arabic word, are hired at the different large towns either by the trip or by the day; and if relays are required, they must be sent out from some of these towns on purpose. The expence is very great in comparison with the rate of travelling in other parts of India. My journey of eleven miles cost me fifteen Baroda rupees or twenty-five shillings, and that without carrying a single article of clothes, or any thing save my writing-desk and pistols. The night was but little cooler than the day had been, and the road very dusty. It was moon-light, however, and I could therefore observe that the country was of the same highly cultivated, strongly enclosed, woody, and English character which we had seen the whole way on this side of the Mhye.

About ten o'clock we reached Kairah, and were conducted to the bungalow of Mr. Goode the Clergyman, who received us very hospitably, and had prepared a bed for me in an empty bungalow separated from his only by a small field. Both these were very neat and even pretty dwellings, but constructed with much less regard to the climate than is usual on the other side of India. Here the windows are generally small and without glass, so as neither to admit any great body of air when it is cool, nor to exclude the hot wind; they have low ceilings too, and are roofed with tiles, on which the sun beats with great power. Nor are the verandahs so well constructed, in my opinion, as those of Hindostan. The servants are either Parsees or Portugueze, and the English language is much more generally understood and spoken among them than in the northern and eastern provinces. From Saturday

the 26th of March to Monday the 4th of April I remained at Kairah, during which time I received great civility and kindness from Mr. Goode the Chaplain, Major Sale of the 4th light dragoons, at this time commanding officer, and the other gentlemen of the station. On Sunday I consecrated the Church, which is a large and solid but clumsy building, lately finished. On Wednesday I confirmed about 70 persons, and on Friday and Sunday (Good Friday and Easter day) I preached. On Saturday, before evening service, I consecrated the burial-ground, and in the course of that day visited the regimental school, the station library, and hospital.

The cantonment of Kairah stands about a mile and a half from a small city of the same name, with a river between them, crossed by a considerable wooden bridge, but now in most places fordable. It is extensive and, I think, well laid out, with good barracks and an excellent hospital, which has only the defect of being built round a square,—a plan which robs one-half the range of all benefit from the breeze. By this form, however, it is more conveniently and easily guarded; and the patients are secluded from any injurious intercourse with their comrades, as well as from access to spirituous liquors. To the prevention of this latter danger even while the men are in health, a greater, or at least, a more successful attention seems to be paid in this cantonment than in any other which I have visited. No dram-shop is allowed within its bounds, and the only one which is tolerated, even in the neighbourhood, is under so good controul, that no great degree of drunkenness appeared to exist among the European soldiers, who are, indeed, some of the most respectable looking and orderly men I have seen in India, and of whom, on the whole, Mr. Goode has, according to his own statement, a very interesting and attentive congregation.

The regimental school is in very good order. There are, indeed, few children, the greater number having been carried off by a grievous sickness which prevailed amongst them last year. But there are about forty adult soldiers, who either having never

learned, or forgotten their reading and writing, are here instructed both in these and in arithmetic. I examined these men, and was much pleased with the progress which they had made, and with the account which I received of their diligence.

The station library is a very good room, with a small apartment adjoining for a non-commissioned officer, who has the care of the books which are made up from two different sources, the one being a lending library containing the works usually furnished by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; the other a larger, more miscellaneous, and far more expensive collection, furnished by the East India Company, and containing, among others, Paley's Natural Theology, Goldsmith's Animated Nature, Pinkerton's Geography, a good Atlas, the Indian histories of Orme and Wilks, and the novels of the author of Waverley. The books published by the Christian Knowledge Society are circulated in the manner usually practised in the lending libraries of that institution, and bear marks, not of ill usage, but of being well read, and perhaps by no very delicate hands. The Company's books are not to be taken away from the room in which they are deposited, a late regulation to that effect having been passed by the commander-in-chief, Sir Charles Colville. I regret this restriction, because I am convinced that, in this climate, the utility of the library will be much impaired by it, since men will not read when they can amuse themselves in the open air, nor when the sun is high will they, nor ought they, to walk some distance to a library. I can, indeed, easily believe that while books were taken by the men to their quarters, some would be occasionally damaged, but it is surely better that this should happen occasionally, rather than that the reasonable and decent use of the books should be impeded, and the munificence of Government, in a great degree, rendered vain.

But even an occasional and restricted access to works such as I have described, is doubtless a very valuable privilege; and, altogether, I have seen no Indian station, (Meerut excepted,) from which I have derived so much comfort and pleasure as from

Kairah. The worst is its extreme unhealthiness; besides the burning heat, under which all Guzerât suffers, and in which it is more unfavourably circumstanced than any other province in India, there is something in the nature of the soil, which, like the Terrai, though not in so fatal a degree, affects mankind, particularly Europeans, with fever, ague, and the other complaints of tropical climates. The havoc among the European troops during the hot months, and, still more, during the rains, is dreadful; and even my Hindoostanees and Bengalees were many of them affected in a way which reminded me much of "the Belt of Death;" one was taken ill after another, and, though all recovered, all were so thoroughly alarmed, that I never witnessed more alacrity displayed by them than when I gave orders to prepare for marching. Archdeacon Barnes and I felt nothing like indisposition. Here, as in the Terrai, the servants ascribed their illness to the badness of the water. The majority of the wells are certainly brackish, but there is one very fine one of excellent quality at the Military hospital, to which I apprehend they would, by using my name, have had free access. I am myself inclined to impute the unhealthiness of the station to the quantity of saltpetre in the soil, a circumstance in which this district appears to resemble lower Bengal. At the same time, it should seem that the spot on which the cantonment stands is peculiarly unfortunate, since the neighbouring city, and even the artillery lines, though only separated from the rest by a river, are reckoned much more healthy.

The city of Kairah is a large and tolerably neat town, surrounded by a lofty stone wall, with semi-circular bastions, in good repair, and sufficient to keep off either nightly robbers, or parties of irregular cavalry. To sudden attacks of both kinds, notwithstanding the vicinity of the cantonments, it would otherwise still be, (as it has been in times past,) exposed. The streets within, though narrow, are clean, and the houses solid and lofty, with sloping tiled roofs, and a good deal of carving exhibited on the wood-work of their gable-ends and verandahs. Near the centre

of the town are a large Jain temple and school; the former consisting of many small apartments up and down stairs, and even underground, with a good deal of gaudy ornament, and some very beautiful carving in a dark wood like oak. In one of the upper rooms is a piece of mechanism something like those moving clock-work groupes of kings, armies, gods, and goddesses which are occasionally carried about our own country by Italians and Frenchmen, in which sundry divinities dance and salam, with a sort of musical accompaniment. These figures are made chiefly of the same black wood which I have described. What they last shewed us was a cellar below ground, approached by a very narrow passage, and containing, on an altar of the usual construction, the four statues of sitting men, which are the most frequent and peculiar objects of Jain idolatry. They are of white marble, but had, (as seems to have been the case with many of the images of ancient Greece,) their eyes of silver, which gleamed in a very dismal and ghostly manner in the light of a solitary lamp which was burning before them, aided by a yet dimmer ray which penetrated from above through two narrow apertures, like flues, in the vaulting. We were very civilly conducted over the whole building by one of the junior priests, the senior pundit of the place remaining as if absorbed in heavenly things, immoveable and silent during the whole of our stay. While I was in the temple a good many worshippers entered, chiefly women, each of whom, first touching one of the bells which hung from the roof, bent to the ground before one or other of the idols, depositing, in some instances, flowers, or sugar-candy before it. There seemed no reluctance to admit me and Mr. Williams, the judge and magistrate, who accompanied me, to any part of the building; but the priests drove back, without any ceremony, such of our attendants as wished to follow us.

Near this temple is the Adawlut, a handsome building, with pillars in the Grecian style, having its attic story raised high above the town, and containing very convenient apartments

for the Judge and his family. Separated by a narrow street is the prison, a large and strong building, which was, nevertheless, nearly forced eight or ten years ago, by a mob of Coolies who had determined to release one of their associates, who was in confinement. Mr. Ironside, the senior Judge, nearly lost his life on that occasion.

During the Saturday before we left Kairah, one of my servants was severely stung by a scorpion. He caught and killed the animal, and brought it to Dr. Smith, who, however, did not apply it to the wound, regarding it as a superstitious remedy which he has never known do any good. Nothing, indeed, according to his experience, is really serviceable except patience, and a lotion of vinegar and water; and the last rather as occupying the patient's attention, than from any direct efficacy to relieve the pain. This is very severe, and continues six or eight hours; after which it generally goes away by degrees. It very seldom, if ever, happens that the injury is of more lasting consequences; but, during this time, Dr. Smith has seen strong and courageous men crying like children, from the extremity of their anguish. The bite of the centipede he considers as worse than that of the scorpion, and a very large insect of that kind was killed during Divine Service on Saturday, creeping up the shoe of one of the soldiers. The beginning of the hot weather, and the first ten days of the rainy season, are the times at which venomous animals are most active and troublesome all over India; nor, in spite of these two cases, have I any reason to suppose that they are more numerous in Guzerât than elsewhere.

In different parts of this province, particularly near the town of Kuppurgunge, are found numbers of cornelians and other pebbles, particularly of the kind called in England "mocha stones," which the shopkeepers of Cambay cut, polish, and set very neatly. The cornelians are always roasted in a strong fire before any thing is done to them; nor is it known, till this has taken place, whether they are worth any thing or no. The silversmiths of Cutch and

Cattyroâr emboss very neatly, by filling the cup, watch-case, box, or other vessel with gum-lac, and punching it in, to the figure required, with a small chisel. Major Sale shewed me a watch-case and small tankard, very prettily ornamented in this manner, with flowers, elephants, and different birds and animals.

On *April* the 4th, Easter Monday, we left Kairah for Dehwan, a village seven coss distant. Our road was through a well-cultivated country, with strong and high green hedges, a fine show of hedge-row timber, and sandy lanes, so narrow, that on meeting a string of hackeries we were obliged to break a gap into a field, in order to let them pass us. We met on the way about fifteen or sixteen miserable, half-naked, and half-starved emigrants, from Cattywār, who said they had lingered there till most of their cattle were dead, and they themselves and their children nearly so; nor did they now know where to go to find a happier country.

At Dehwan we found a handsome pagoda, with a convent attached to it, embosomed in tall trees; and were met by the Maharatta manager of Pitland, a man of some consequence, who had the title of "Baee."

I forgot to mention in its proper place that during my continuance in Kairah, I received a petition from Swaamee Narain, which, unfortunately, marked but too clearly the smallness of his advances beyond the usual limits of Hindooism. It was written in very good English, but signed by him in Nagree, and was brought to me by two of the persons whom I had seen among his disciples. Its purport was to request my influence with Government to obtain an endowment for a temple which he was building to Luckshmee Narain, the goddess of plenty, and also for a hospital and place of reception, which he wished to institute in the same neighbourhood, for pilgrims and poor travellers. I was at some pains to explain to these people that I was only a traveller and with no authority in the Government, and that, as being a Christian, I could not

attempt any thing which was to encourage the worship of images. I told them, however, that I would convey their petition to Mr. Elphinstone, so far as regarded the alms-house and relief of poor travellers, and that I would report, as I was bound to do, the good account which I heard from all quarters of the system of morals preached by Swaamee Narain and acted on by his disciples. From Mr. Ironside, who knows him well, and who speaks very favourably of him, I found that when expostulated with on the worship of images, the pundit often expressed his conviction of their vanity, but pleaded that he feared to offend the prejudices of the people too suddenly, and that, for ignorant and carnal minds, such outward aids to devotion were necessary. These opinions are, indeed, no more than some Christians of the Romish Church express; but since I have heard them, I confess I have thought less favourably of his simplicity and honesty of character, and have entertained fewer hopes of being able to render him any spiritual service. Still, as loosening prejudices, his ministry may, by God's mercy, be useful to his countrymen.

The day was intensely hot, and notwithstanding the abundance of trees in Guzerât, they are never disposed in groves so as to furnish a convenient shelter for a camp. Ours was in the middle of a ploughed field ; and though, during a part of the day, the breeze was strong enough to admit of tatties, the burden of the sun in the afternoon was more than the awnings of our canvas habitations could resist, and fell heavy on us. We had reason to be thankful that there were only ten days more before we should arrive in Surat. Had we taken the longer round by Mhow, we must have expected to feel the climate severely.

I have had several occasions within the few last days to observe that the English on this side of India call the Hindoos "Gentoos," a name which, though commonly used for them in Europe, I never heard in Bengal or Hindostan. I cannot learn that it is taken from any Indian dialect; and the Guzerâttee professors of the religion of Brahma call themselves, here as elsewhere,

"Hindooee." I suspect it is only a corruption of the Portuguese jargon "Gentao," a Gentile, and may rank with the compound "Campao" of Bengal.

*April* 5.—This morning we proceeded, eight coss, to Pitland, where we found Archdeacon Barnes just arrived, he having come by dâk during the night from Kairah. Pitland is a large town, with a good stone rampart, and, with the district round it, belongs to the Guicwar Raja. The environs are fertile and shady, with noble banyan-trees, and several large tanks, and there are a good many temples. The population is of about 15,000 people.

The Kamdar, Kooseah Baee, the same who met me yesterday, again received me with much civility at the entrance of the town, and conducted me to the encampment. He also expressed his hope that I would let him shew me the curiosities of his town in the cool of the evening, to which I assented more out of civility than from an expectation of finding any thing worth notice. He seemed pleased, and soon after sent a very plentiful dinner for the servants and every body in the camp, amounting, altogether, to no fewer than 350 persons. He said that he sent this by the Maharaja's order, and because this was the last of his towns that I should visit. In the evening too, when we prepared merely for a ride round the town, we found that we were expected to go in much pomp to the fort and see fire-works there. I was annoyed at being thus ensnared into a visit, but could not civilly draw back, and was accordingly received with a salute from the ramparts, and underwent the penance of sitting in a sort of unfinished pavilion in solemn durbar a good hour, while some Roman candles and rockets were let off. The fort is large but old, and in bad repair; its garrison seemed to consist of about 20 or 25 sepoys, dressed in red, with caps like those of the King of Oude's troops. Nothing was ever devised more ridiculously ugly than this head-dress, but the men were cleanly dressed and accoutred, and presented arms with much smartness. The ceremony concluded by his giving me and my friends some shawls, and my

returning the compliment by a similar present, the means of making which had been kindly and considerately supplied me by Mr. Williams.

An unusual number of beggars were assembled at this station, some of whom, however, professed to have come from a distance from having heard my "name." Among them were two natives of Câbul who repeated Persian poetry, and a very holy yogi, his naked and emaciated body covered over with white powder, and an iron implement, like a flesh-hook, in his hand, which is frequently carried by devotees in this part of India, but the meaning of which I forgot to enquire. There were divers miserable painted females, who also said that they came from far to offer their services and salutations to "huzzoor;" and, lastly, there were half-a-dozen or more half-starved and more than half-naked figures, who had children at their breasts and in their hands, and who had no other claim on my attention than the strongest of all, "ah, Lord Sahib, our babies are dying of hunger!" On the whole, however, the number of beggars in every part of Guzerât has been less than I expected to find it in a year so unpropitious, and, certainly, not more, taking one day with another, than any man who should travel slowly, and with some degree of state and publicity through England, might find in its market-towns and villages. My march, I can easily perceive, attracts considerable notice. The people of the towns and villages all throng to the road-side, the hedges, and windows to look at us, and I have consented to be a little longer on the road, and a good deal more dusted than I otherwise might be, rather than seem to underrate the marks of distinction which the Raja has assigned me, or to disappoint the towns-people of their show. We therefore go on in good order and in marching time the whole way, with the tawdry banner of the Guicwar floating before us, the Nagari beating on our approach to a town, and Câbul decked out in full oriental costume, with the bridle and saddle which were given me at Baroda. Well it is for these poor peasants that the Maharatta banner and kettle-drum are now to

them no more than objects of curiosity and amusement. Ten years ago there were few parts of India where such a sight and sound would not have been a sign of flight and tears; the villagers instead of crowding to see us, would have come out indeed, but with their hands clasped, kissing the dust, and throwing down before the invader all their wives' silver ornaments, with bitter entreaties that the generous conqueror would condescend to take all they had and do them no further injury; and accounting themselves but too happy if those prayers were heard, so that their houses were left unburnt, and their wives and daughters inviolate! War is, doubtless, a dreadful evil every where, but war, as it is carried on in these countries, appears to have horrors which an European soldier can scarcely form an idea of.

*April* 6.—We proceeded about seventeen miles to Gauima, a village near which we were to cross the sands at the mouth of the Mhye, and which would save us almost a day's march in our journey to Broach. The country though still, generally speaking, well cultivated, was less fertile and more woody and wild than that we had lately passed: the trees, however, were all of the same round-topped character, and I was continually reminded of some of the green lanes round Hodnet.

We found our tents pitched on a small eminence, enjoying a delightful cool breeze, which sufficiently indicated the neighbourhood of an arm of the sea. The estuary, however, of the Mhye was not visible, being shut out from us by intervening jungle, though, beyond this last, a blue and distant line of woods appeared, obviously shewing that a wide valley of some kind intervened. As we had received our accounts of this place, and its perfect practicability for the passage of horses, carriages, and camels, from a gentleman high in office and long experienced in this part of the country, we had none of us the smallest doubt but that the ford would be an easy one; and I was much surprised and disappointed to learn from the Potail of the village, who came to call on me, that during spring-tides the water was deep enough, even at ebb, to drown a

camel; that the ferry-boat was only calculated for foot-passengers; and that, hearing of our approach, he had sent the day before to warn us that the ford was impracticable, though, unfortunately, his message did not appear to have arrived in Pitland time enough to stop us. The river was, he said, a coss and a half wide, of which, when the tide was out, about a third was occupied by water, and the rest was all mud and muscle-banks. Many Sahibs had passed that way, but, he thought, always, in boats, and certainly not at spring-tide! The nearest place where, in his judgement, camels could pass, was Ometa, nine coss to the north, and a very little to the south of Fusilpoor where we crossed the river before. This was very provoking to us all, and I much regretted that I had allowed myself to be dissuaded from a plan which I had once entertained of going to Cambay, and getting a passage there, in some of the country boats, to Tunkaria Bunder, a road near Broach, where we might be met by the little vessel which the Government had placed at my disposal. From Cambay, indeed, we were now only a day's march, but without previous notice no vessel could be got there; and no plan appeared practicable of gaining my point, so far as Broach was concerned, which was to reach that city by Sunday, unless we could by some means or other get over this formidable frith. Dr. Smith kindly volunteered to go down in Archdeacon Barnes' palanqueen to reconnoitre, and have some conversation with the ferrymen. The account which he brought back was sufficiently unfavourable, and entirely corresponded with that of the Potail. The boat, however, he said, was a large and good one, and two other boats might be obtained, so that he proposed that we ourselves and our baggage should pass here, and that the horses and unloaded camels should make a forced march by Ometa to join us on the other side. It at once, however, occurred to me that the horses, at least, might with proper management swim over; and Bappoor Mahratta, on being consulted, said that, unloaded, he thought the camels might get through also, if they took the very lowest ebb, and did their work

in the day time; accordingly we sent to hire a sufficient number of carts to carry our goods down to the water's edge, since over the slippery ouse of the river no loaded camel could pass, and a similar number were engaged to meet us on the other side of the channel from the village of Dopkah. We also summoned two small ferry-boats from Dehwaun and a village between us and Ometa, to assist in passing us over, and sent off this evening as many of our things as we could spare with the khânsaman, a havildar, and fourteen sepoys, to the water's edge, in the hope that they might get over by the night's tide, and leave the morning's ebb free for the passage of the animals.

The boats, however, were not ready; and next morning, *April* 7, when I went to the scene of action a little before five, I found the embarkation going on slowly, though tolerably prosperously. The breakfast-things and a few chairs had passed over, and the carts were employed in conveying the tents and other goods slowly over the deep ouse to the channel. The ebb was now pretty nearly at its lowest. From high-water mark, where the bank was steep, woody, and intersected by several narrow and deep ravines, was rather less than a mile of wet muddy sand and sludge, with streams of salt water in different parts, about as high as a man's waist. Then followed, perhaps, half-a-mile of water, where we saw the boats waiting for us. We got into the smallest boat from our horses' backs, and taking off their saddles, led one to each side; the saeeses, who were with us in the boat, holding the halters. Four horses more were in the same manner fastened, two on a side, to the large boat, which was under the care of Abdullah; and we thus proceeded prosperously, though our poor steeds were grievously frightened when they felt themselves out of their depth. We ourselves were a little dismayed on finding, as we drew near the opposite beach, that the stream flowed close under its steep side, and that the ghât for landing was very crumbling, abrupt, and difficult for every animal but man. It was very clear, indeed, that under such

circumstances as the present no horses had ever passed at this place before; but ours were all unincumbered, and of good courage; and when let loose, with the land in sight, scrambled up happily without receiving any damage. The Company's cavalry followed in the same way that we had done, and then the Maharattas. I had directed these to stay to the last, but there was no keeping them back; and, as the tide by this time was flowing again, the camels were obliged to wait till the afternoon, when they also passed, though with some difficulty, yet safely.

The village of Dopkah, where we remained for the day, is about two miles from the shore, the interval being wild and jungly, and I had here again occasion to observe, what had struck me repeatedly before, that not only palms of every kind are rare in Guzerât, but that bamboos are never seen either in jungles or cultivated grounds. What peculiarity it is of soil or of climate, which deprives this district of two of the most useful and ornamental plants which India produces, I cannot guess.

Dopkah is a small village, prettily situated, belonging to the Maharaja. It is completely out of any usually frequented road, and I had the mortification of finding that our coming with so numerous a party occasioned not only surprise, but alarm and distress; the Potail shed many tears, anticipating a complete destruction to his remaining stock of hay, a loss which no pecuniary payment could, in such a year as this, make up to him. I pitied him and his villagers heartily, and gave directions that all the neighbouring hamlets should be laid under contribution, so that each would only have to furnish a little, and none need be quite stripped. Bappoo Mahratta offered to pay all demands for boats, hackeries, coolies, &c.; but having some doubt how far the peasants were safe in his hands, I said that I wished to see them all myself. I had, in consequence, assembled before my tent a most wild and extraordinary group of four village Potails, twenty-four boatmen, twenty-seven carters, and fifty coolies, who were so well pleased at receiving any thing, that when I had distributed

among them the payments to which I thought them fully entitled, they actually testified their content by acclamation. It was, indeed, an expensive day's work, but did not, after all, amount to more than about 37 rupees; a sum which, in England, would be thought little enough for the trajet of such a party as ours over such a frith.

The Potails of Guzerât are very inferior in dress, manners, and general appearance, to the Zemindars of Hindostan. Their manner, however, though less polished, is more independant; and here, as in Central India, instead of standing with joined hands in the presence of a superior, they immediately sit down, even if they do not advance to embrace him. Almost all of them, as well as their ryuts, and indeed all the inhabitants of the country, are armed, some with bows and arrows, and all, or nearly all, with sabres. Their dress is generally ragged and dirty, and they seem to pay less attention to personal cleanliness than any Hindoos whom I have met with. Some of the peasants who were assembled were tall stout men, but the average were considerably under the middle size.

The day was hot, and we had, unfortunately, neither shade nor breeze. I left two sepoys at this village sick, with one convalescent to take care of them. The distance from hence to Baroda is only about eighteen miles, and I thought it most humane to take them no further from their homes, since Dr. Smith hoped that, with the help of a single day's rest, they would be well able to return thither. The convalescent man was very unwilling to leave our party, but it was necessary to be positive with him.

Some complaints were brought by the country people against the sepoys, for bullying and maltreating them; and I was compelled to send a sharp reprimand to the jemautdar for not keeping his men in more order. I do not remember any complaints of the sort occurring against the Hindoostanee sepoys, during the whole course of my journey; but I am not sure whether they are really better behaved, or whether these Guzerâttee peasants may be

more quick in resenting, and less patient under injuries, than our subjects in the northern provinces. I own that I suspect the former to be the case; yet in exterior, smartness of drill, and obedience to officers, nothing can exceed the little Bombay sepoy. They are, however, evidently a more lively and thoughtless, and I think a more irascible and less sober race than their Hindoostanee brethren; and such men, with arms in their hands, are apt to be rash and peremptory.

*April* 8.—We continued our journey to a village called Sakra, on the banks of the same small river (the Dhandur,) which flows by Baroda. The distance was about fourteen miles, the greater part of which was over a black soil, with many deep cracks, chiefly cultivated in cotton, and, apparently, of inferior fertility to the red sandy soil which we had found every where north-west of the Mhye. At Sakra we met a large party of poor Cattywâr emigrants, who had formed themselves, (as they said,) out of pure want, into a society of religious beggars and jugglers, with the usual equipments of beads, peacocks' feathers, tame snakes, and music. I observed to some of them that they were strong, able-bodied men, and might work; to which they answered, "How can we work when God gives no rain?" I asked whither they were going, and a poor woman replied "a begging." They were very thankful for a trifling charity which I gave to their chief, whom they called their "Khaleefa," (Caliph) a title which I had not heard before in India. Here, however, it is one of many circumstances which marks our approach to the Arabian Gulph. The price of flour at present was about three anas the seer, or three half-pence per pound English, which even in England would be thought a grievous rate, how much more in a land where there is so little money stirring, and where the prices of labour are so much lower than in England!

*April* 9.—We went thirteen miles more to a village called Tekaria, where we re-entered the Company's territory. The country still, and, indeed, all the way to Broach, was chiefly culti-

vated with cotton, the roads very bad and worn into deep ruts, the trees less tall, spreading, and numerous than we had been accustomed to see.

Mr. Boyd, the Collector of Broach, kindly sent two revenue officers, a tussildar, and an inferior functionary, with some suwarrs to act as guides, and to procure us the usual supplies. The tussildar and his assistant were old men of the Mahommedan sect of Boras, and, whether justly so or no, seemed regarded as usurers and oppressors by the people under their care. The Boras in general are unpopular, and held in the same estimation for parsimony that the Jews are in England. Abdullah said, translating the expressions of some of the common people concerning them, that they were " an abominable nation."

*April* 10.—This day we reached Broach, a large ruinous city on the northern bank of the Nerbudda. We were hospitably entertained in the house of Mr. Corsellis, the commercial agent. His dwelling, as usual in this Presidency, is in the middle of the town, but on an elevated terrace within the ramparts of the old fort, and commanding an extensive view of the river which is a noble sheet of water of, I should guess, two miles across even at ebb tide. It is very shallow, however, except at flood, and even then admits no vessels beyond the bar at Tunkaria Bunde larger than a moderate sized lighter. The boats which navigate it are rigged with large lateen sails, instead of square or lug, another peculiarity in which the habits of this side of India approach those of the Levant and the Arabian sea, rather than those of Bengal. Broach, by the help of these boats, drives on a considerable trade in cotton which it sends down to Bombay. It is now, however, a poor and dilapidated place, and also reckoned very hot and unwholesome. For its heat I can answer, though Mr. Corsellis, having been a good deal in Calcutta with Lord Wellesley, keeps his house far cooler than is usually done on this side of India; and it is, I understand, remarked in Malwah, though I cannot give any probable reason for the difference, that the black soil,

such as we have lately been traversing, is more unhealthy than the redder kinds. Broach has a small but neat room within the enclosure of the Judges' cutcherry, fitted up and furnished as a Church, in which I preached and administered the Sacrament to about twelve persons. The whole congregation consisted of about twenty. Mr. Jeffries, the Chaplain of Surat, comes over hither once a month, and was now Mr. Corsellis's guest.

We dined early, and in the afternoon enjoyed, though almost 40 miles from the open sea, a fine south-west sea-breeze, which came up with the flood-tide and cooled the air very pleasantly. This seems one of the few favourable circumstances in the climate of the place, and even this is not always to be counted on. In fact, by all which I had as yet learned of the climate of the Bombay Presidency, and by all which I had seen of the pale complexions and premature signs of old age which distinguish the civil and military servants of the Company in Guzerât, from those in the upper provinces of Bengal, and even in Calcutta itself, I was led to conclude that, though Bombay itself might enjoy, as they all assured me it did, an agreeable temperature during many months in the year, there was no part of India so generally unfriendly to European health as Guzerât and, with the single exception of Poonah, the other continental dependencies of this Presidency. Nor do its inhabitants seem to take advantage, as they might do, of the few alleviations and remedies of heat which are recurred to by the English on the other side of India; I have seen several houses without punkahs. Their tatties are ill made and ill managed; their roofs, instead of pucka or thatch, are composed of thin and ill made tiles which are scarcely any defence against the sun. The European comforts and luxuries which their shops supply are said to be both dearer and worse than those of Calcutta, and though they all complain, with apparent reason, of the high price and inferior quality of provisions and labour, they are unacquainted with the comfortable and economical arrangements which enable the military officers of the different

stations of the Bengal establishment to keep flocks, slaughter bullocks, and import wine, &c. in common.

At Broach is one of those remarkable institutions which have made a good deal of noise in Europe as instances of Hindoo benevolence to inferior animals. I mean hospitals for sick and infirm beasts, birds, and insects. I was not able to visit it, but Mr. Corsellis described it as a very dirty and neglected place, which, though it has considerable endowments in land, only serves to enrich the brahmins who manage it. They have really animals of several different kinds there, not only those which are accounted sacred by the Hindoos, as monkeys, peacocks, &c. but horses, dogs, and cats, and they have also, in little boxes, an assortment of lice and fleas. It is not true, however, that they feed those pensioners on the flesh of beggars hired for the purpose. The brahmins say that insects, as well as the other inmates of their infirmary, are fed with vegetables only, such as rice, &c. How the insects thrive I did not hear, but the old horses and dogs, nay the peacocks and apes are allowed to starve, and the only creatures said to be in any tolerable plight are some milch cows, which may be kept from other motives than charity.

Another curiosity in this neighbourhood is the celebrated bur or banyan-tree, called Kuveer Bur, from a saint who is said to have planted it. It stands on, and entirely covers an island of the Nerbudda about twelve miles above Broach. Of this tree, which has been renowned ever since the first coming of the Portuguese to India, which is celebrated by our early voyagers and by Milton, and which, the natives tell us, boasted a shade sufficiently broad to shelter 10,000 horse, a considerable part has been washed away with the soil on which it stood, within these few years, by the freshes of the river, but enough remains, as I was assured, to make it one of the noblest groves in the world, and well worthy of all the admiration which it has received. This I would gladly have seen, but I had too many motives to urge me on to Bombay to allow of my sacrificing, as I apprehended I must have done, two

days for the purpose of going and returning. Had I known all the difficulties of the usual ferry at Broach, I should have been tempted to march my camp round by a ford near this famous tree; but this, like most other matters respecting Indian travelling, I had to learn by experience.

*April* 11.—This day we crossed the Nerbudda, a task attended with considerable expence, and great delay and difficulty, but, happily, without harm to man or beast. There was only one horse-boat properly provided with a platform, and that of small dimensions, only fit to carry four horses at most, while the going and returning took up at least an hour. The camels were therefore to be packed in the common boats used on the river, which were indeed large and stout enough, but such as they were very unwilling to enter, and were forced in with great labour and difficulty, as well as much beating and violence to the poor animals; we got over, however, soon after dark in the evening, and slept at a small village named Oklaisir about four miles and a half from the southern bank. We crossed over, ourselves, in a stout boat, called here a bundur boat, I suppose from "bundur," a harbour, with two masts and two lateen sails, which was lent us by our kind host, Mr. Corsellis.

*April* 12.—We rode to Kim Chowkee, about sixteen miles, through a wilder country than we had lately seen, with a good deal of jungle and some herds of deer; at Kim Chowkee is a large serai, called here "Durrumsallah," which is kept in good repair, having a picquet of sepoys to protect passengers from robbers; and, in one angle of the building, a roomy but hot and ill-contrived bungalow for European travellers. We found here (that is in the lower corridores and verandahs of the building) a considerable crowd of Borah inhabitants of Surat, who had come out thus far to meet the Moullah of their sect, whose usual residence is in the city, but who had now been on a spiritual journey into Malwah, where he had narrowly escaped death in the quarrel between his sect and the Patans at Mundissore. The Patans, indeed, had

declared, in revenge for the death of their own preacher, whose slaughter I have already mentioned, that the Moullah should never return to Surat alive, and the news of his near approach, and of his being on the safe side of the Nerbudda had called out an enthusiasm in his people, such as the sober and money-making Borahs seem to be not often susceptible of.

The men whom we met here to-day were grave, wealthy-looking burghers, travelling in covered carts drawn, each of them, by two of the large and handsome Guzerâttee oxen, and ornamented and equipped in a style which made them by no means inconvenient or inelegant vehicles. One which was destined to receive the Moullah on his arrival, was a sort of miniature coach or palanqueen carriage shaped like a coach, with Venetian blinds, and very handsomely painted dark green. The oxen had all bells round their necks, and the harness of many was plated with massive silver ornaments. The Moullah did not arrive so soon as he was expected, otherwise the Serai would have offered the spectacle of a curious mixture of creeds; as it was, we had Mussulmans of three different sects (Omar, Ali, and Hussun) Hindoos of almost every caste from brahmins to sweepers, divers worshippers of fire, several Portugueze Roman Catholics, an English Bishop and Archdeacon with one lay-member of their sect, a Scottish Presbyterian, and two poor Greeks from Trebizond, who were on a begging journey to redeem their families from slavery. The whole number of lodgers in and about the Serai, probably, did not fall short of 500 persons. What an admirable scene for Eastern romance would such an inn as this afford!

*April* 13.—From Kim Chowkee to the river Taptee is almost fourteen miles, through a country still wild, and ill-cultivated, though, apparently, not unfruitful. This district is one of those recently acquired by the Company from the ruins of the Peishwah's empire; and it struck me that its neglected state was indicative of internal misgovernment; but I afterwards learned, that this apparent desolation does not extend far from the road-side, and that, in

point of fact, the Collectorship is a very productive one. The banks of the Taptee are prettily edged with gardens, and here, at length, the coco-nut tree re-appeared. The tide was out, and we passed the stream by fording; on the other bank we were met by Mr. Romer, the Senior Judge of the Adawlut, a very clever and agreeable man, who had kindly asked us to his house, and had now brought carriages to meet us.

From the river-side to the gates of Surat are four miles and a half, through gardens and a deep sandy lane; thence we drove through the city, nearly two miles, to Mr. Romer's house, where we found spacious, but very hot, apartments provided for us. Surat, or as the natives pronounce it, Soorut, (beauty) is a very large and ugly city, with narrow winding streets, and high houses of timber-frames filled up with bricks, the upper stories projecting over each other. The wall is entire and in good repair, with semicircular bastions and battlements like those of the Kremlin. Its destruction, or abandonment to ruin, has been more than once talked of; but the feeling of security which the natives derive from such a rampart, and the superior facilities which it affords to the maintenance of a good police, and the collection of the town duties, have, with good reason, preponderated in favour of supporting it. The circuit of the city is about six miles in a semicircle, of which the river Taptee or Tâpee forms the chord; near the centre of this chord, and washed by the river, stands a small castle, with round bastions, glacis, and covered way, in which a few sepoys and European artillerymen are stationed, and which is distinguished by the singularity of two flagstaves, on one of which is displayed an union-jack, on the other a plain red flag, the ancient ensign of the Emperors of Delhi. This arrangement was adopted, I believe, in courtesy, at the time when the East India Company conquered the fort from the Nawâb of Surat, and has never since been discontinued, though the Nawâb, like the Emperor himself, is now only a pensioner on the bounty or justice of the Government. In the neighbourhood of this fort are most of the English houses, of

a good size, and surrounded by extensive compounds, but not well contrived to resist heat, and arranged with a strange neglect both of tatties and punkahs. Without the walls are a French factory, containing some handsome and convenient buildings, but now quite deserted by their proper owners, and occupied by different English officers who pay a rent to some country-born people, who pretend to have an interest in them, and a Dutch factory, also empty, the chief of which is only waiting the orders of his Government to surrender this, like the other Dutch settlements, to the English. The French factory had been restored to that nation at the peace, and a governor and several officers came to take possession. The diseases, however, of the climate attacked them with unusual severity. The governor died, and his suite was so thinned that the few survivors returned to the Isle of Bourbon, whence nobody has been sent to supply their place.

The trade of Surat, indeed, is now of very trifling consequence, consisting of little but raw cotton, which is shipped in boats for Bombay. All the manufactured goods of the country are undersold by the English, except kincob and shawls, for which there is very little demand; a dismal decay has consequently taken place in the circumstances of the native merchants; and an instance fell under my knowledge in which an ancient Mussulman family, formerly of great wealth and magnificence, were attempting to dispose of their library, a very valuable one, for subsistence. There is a small congregation of Armenians in a state of decay and general poverty; but the most thriving people are the Borahs (who drive a trade all through this part of India as bunyans and money-lenders) and the Parsees. These last are proprietors of half the houses in Surat, and seem to thrive where nobody else but the Borahs can glean even a scanty maintenance. The boats which lie in Surat river are of thirty or forty tons, half-decked, with two masts and two very large lateen sails; vessels of greater draught must lie about fifteen miles off, below the bar, at the mouth of the Taptee, but except the ketches in the Company's service, few larger vessels ever come

here. The English society is unusually numerous and agreeable, as this city is the station not only of a considerable military force, but of a Collector, a Board of Custom, a Circuit Court, and the Sudder Adawlut for the whole Presidency of Bombay, which for the greater conveniency of the people, and on account of its central situation, Mr. Elphinstone has wisely removed hither. There is a very neat and convenient Church, which I consecrated on Sunday, April 17th, as well as an extensive and picturesque burial-ground, full of large but ruinous tombs of the former servants of the Company; most of these are from 120 to 180 years old, and in the Mussulman style of architecture, with large apartments surmounted by vaults, and containing within two or three tombs, exactly like those of the Mahometans, except that the bodies lie East and West, instead of North and South. The largest of these buildings is that in memory of Sir George Oxenden, one of the earliest Governors of British India, at the time when British India comprized little more than the factory at this place, and the then almost desolate Island of Bombay. He could hardly at that time have even dreamed how great a territory his countrymen would possess in India; yet I must say that the size and solidity of his sepulchre is not unworthy that of one of the first founders of an Empire.

I neither saw nor could hear of any distinguished Mussulman or Hindoo building in Surat. The Nawâb's residence is modern, but not particularly handsome; he has no territory, but a pension of a lack and a half per annum. He sent me some civil messages, but did not call. He is said to be a young man, much addicted to low company, and who shuts himself up even from the most respectable families of his own sect. I received civil messages and offers of visits from the Borah Moullah,—the Mogul Cazi, and other learned Mussulmans, but excused myself, being in fact fully occupied, and a good deal oppressed by the heat which almost equalled that in Kairah, and exceeded any thing which I had felt in other parts of the country. On the whole, Surat, except in its

society, which is no where excelled in British India, appears to me an uninteresting and unpleasant city, and, in beauty of situation, inferior even to Broach.

The Education Society of Bombay have a school here, where a considerable number of Parsee, Mussulman, and Hindoo boys are instructed in writing, reading, arithmetic, and English. They read the Scriptures, as a text-book, without objection, and their progress seemed highly creditable. Some of the boys were of good families. The schoolmaster is an old soldier, but the chief conductor of the school is Mr. Jefferies the Chaplain.

*April* 17.—We left Surat in a large lateen-sailed boat with twelve rowers, for the mouth of the Taptee, where the Vigilant Company's ketch was waiting to receive us. The bar at the mouth of the river is broad, and sometimes said to be formidable to boats. When we passed there was a considerable swell, but the surf by no means high or dangerous. The Vigilant we found a vessel of about sixty tons, very neat and clean, with a good cuddy, and two small cabins partitioned from it; she carried six little carronades, and had a crew of twenty men; twelve sepoys, who form a part of its establishment, had been removed, to make room for us, on board the two country boats which received our luggage and horses. The serang was a Mussulman, a decent and intelligent man, and the crew, though not very nimble or alert in their movements, were, to all appearance, steady, and tolerably acquainted with their business. In other respects the bark was a bad one; a heavy sailer, rolling and pitching severely, and a bad sea-boat, having the scuppers of her deck so low in the water that on shipping a sea, the crew had no resource but baleing. The wind, which had been for some time unfavourable, blew almost a gale from the S.W. and we remained at anchor the whole of the day, tossing and pitching very uncomfortably.

Early next morning we dropped down with the tide for a few miles; and, the wind drawing round a little more to the north as the sun rose, we made a pretty good run to the parallel of Damaun,

a Portuguese settlement, at the foot of some high hills, and thence to within sight of the yet higher range of "St. John." We ran on through the night.

At breakfast on Wednesday the 19th, we passed the mountains of Bassein, exhibiting, besides some meaner elevations, one very high hill of a table form, and another not quite so elevated, rising in a conical peak. Thence we coasted the islands of Salsette and Bombay, both rocky, and in some parts considerably elevated, but with the high mountains of the Concan seen rising behind both. Though at a considerable distance from the shore, we passed a vast number of bamboos, planted as fishing-stakes, and a fleet of boats, which, like all others which I have seen on this coast, had large lateen sails. They were extremely picturesque; and though, apparently, not very manageable, made their way fast through the water: they could not tack, but wore with great celerity and accuracy; and, though their gunwales were often scarcely above the water, impressed me with the idea of their being good sea-boats, and good sailers. Their style of rigging differs from that of the Mediterranean, in that they have seldom more than two masts, of which the hinder is much the smallest. They have also a bowsprit, and their sails, instead of being a right-angled triangle, have the foremost angle cut off, so as to bring them nearer the principle of a lug-sail. They are very white, being, I believe made of cotton. As the sun set we saw the Bombay light-house, and, about midnight, anchored in the mouth of the harbour.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### BOMBAY.

*Island of Elephanta—Salsette—Gora-bunder—Bassein—Cave Temple of Kennery—Pareil—Oran Outang—Journey to Poonah—Ghâts—Cave at Carlee—Poonah—Conquest and Government of the Deckan—Consecration of the Church at Tannah—Mr. Elphinstone—Description of the Island of Bombay—Departure.*

April 26.—My dear wife and elder girl arrived at Bombay after a tedious and distressing voyage, both from weather and sickness. As the journal kept by the former gives a just idea of the principal things which we saw in Bombay and its neighbourhood, I shall merely make a few observations on some of the more striking objects and occurrences.

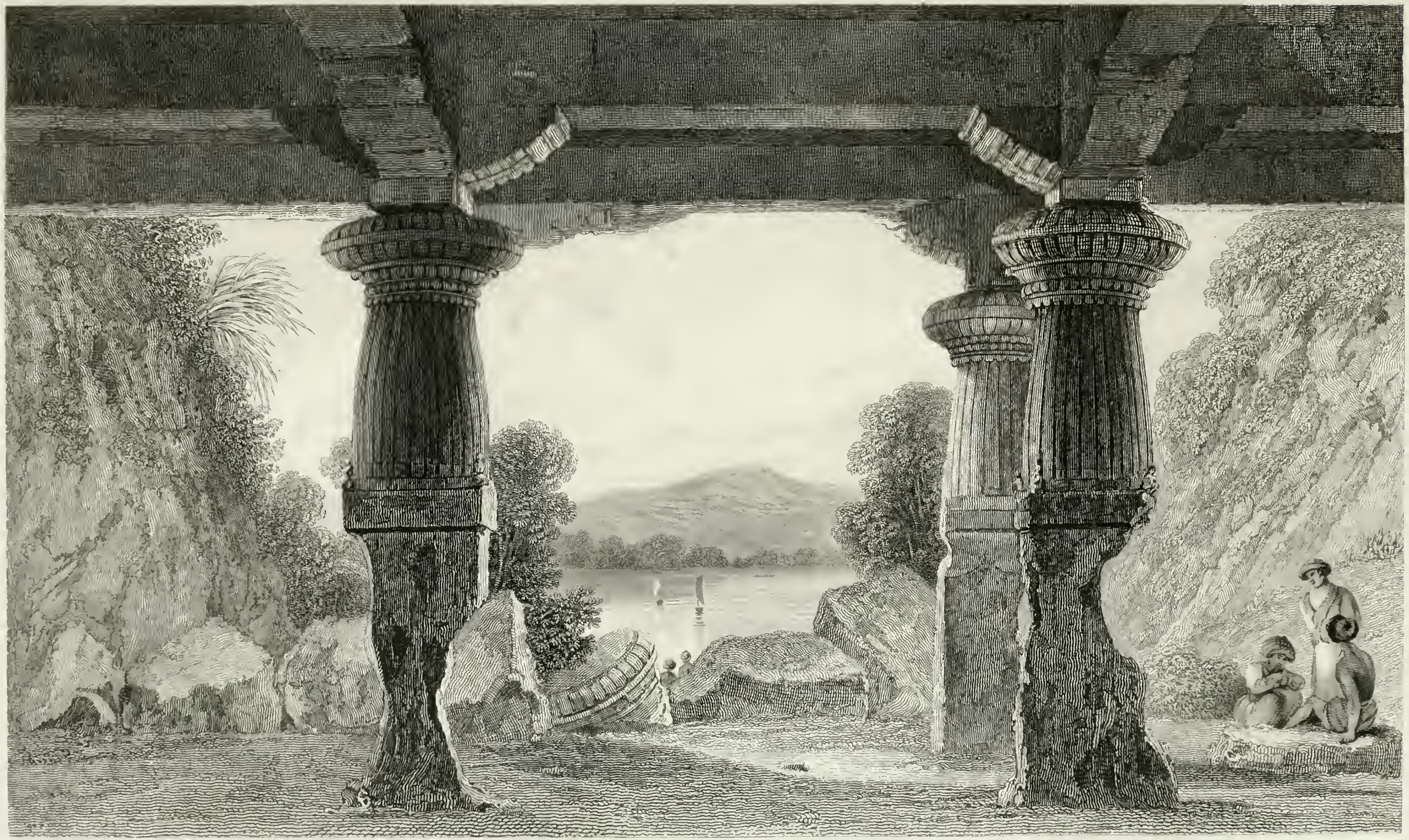
On the 28th was my visitation (a confirmation of about 120 children had occurred a few days before) attended by the Archdeacon, (Dr. Barnes,) six Chaplains and one Missionary, being all within a reasonable distance of Bombay.

On May 5th the foundation of a Free School, on the same plan with that of Calcutta, was laid. The ceremony was numerously attended, and the institution, which has been for some time in activity, though in a hired and inconvenient building, appears very flourishing, and likely to be productive of great good. The plan and elevation of the intended schools, by Lieutenant Jervis of the Engineers, I think a very elegant and judicious one.

On the 8th we went to see Elephanta, of which my wife has

given an account in her journal [a], and of which a more regular description is needless after all which Mr. Erskine and others have written on it. I will only observe that the Island of Elephanta, or Shapooree, is larger and more beautiful than I expected, containing, I should suppose, upwards of a thousand acres, a good deal of which is in tillage, with a hamlet of tolerable size, but the major part is very beautiful wood and rock, being a double-pointed hill, rising from the sea to some height. The stone elephant, from which the usual Portuguese name of the Island is derived, stands in a field about a quarter of a mile to the right of the usual landing-place. It is about three times as big as life, rudely sculptured, and very much dilapidated by the weather. The animal on its back, which Mr. Erskine supposes to be a tyger, has no longer any distinguishable shape. From the landing-place, a steep and narrow path, but practicable for palanqueens, leads up the hill, winding prettily through woods and on the brinks of precipices, so as very much to remind me of Hawkstone. About half a mile up is the first cave, which is a sort of portico supported by two pillars and two pilasters, and seeming as if intended for the entrance to a rock temple which has not been proceeded in. A quarter of a mile further, and two-thirds of the ascent up the higher of the two hills, is the great cavern, in a magnificent situa-

[a] The principal cave is of considerable extent, excavated out of the solid rock, and the roof supported by pillars, now in a state of decay, carved out in the same manner, and handsomely ornamented. The different shrines which contain the emblems of Hindoo worship are placed on either side, and, generally, their entrances are guarded by colossal bas-relief figures, whilst on the walls are sculptured figures of Siva and his wife Parvati, the former in one compartment with a chaplet of skulls round his neck, and with eight hands, bearing his usual attributes of the Cobra de Capello, also of colossal size, and some of the avatars of Vishnu, and other mythological fables of their religion. Even now the whole is sadly defaced, and though an European sergeant has been for some years appointed to preserve it from injury by man, the climate does its work of devastation slowly but surely, and it appears probable that at no very distant period little will remain to shew what this temple had been in the days of its glory. The view from the mouth of the cavern is very beautiful. Although we were out during the hottest hours of the day, in one of the worst months, we never were much oppressed by the heat. In Bengal such an excursion could not have been contemplated.—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*



Engraved by Edw$^{d}$ Finden from a Drawing by M$^{rs}$ Heber

ENTRANCE TO THE CAVE OF ELEPHANTA

*London Published by John [illegible]*

tion, and deserving all the praise which has been lavished on it. For its details I again refer to Mr. Erskine, merely noticing that, though my expectations were highly raised, the reality much exceeded them, and that both the dimensions, the proportions, and the sculpture, seemed to me to be of a more noble character, and a more elegant execution than I had been led to suppose. Even the statues are executed with great spirit, and are some of them of no common beauty, considering their dilapidated condition and the coarseness of their material.

At the upper end of the principal cave, which is in the form of a cross, and exceedingly resembles the plan of an ancient basilica, is an enormous bust with three faces, reaching from the pavement to the ceiling of the temple. It has generally been supposed, and is so even by Mr. Erskine, a representation of the Trimurti, or Hindoo Trinity, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. But more recent discoveries have ascertained that Siva himself, to whose worship and adventures most of the other ornaments of the cave refer, is sometimes represented with three faces, so that the temple is evidently one to the popular deity of the modern Hindoos alone. Nor could I help remarking, that the style of ornament, and proportions of the pillars, the dress of the figures, and all the other circumstances of the place, are such as may be seen at this day in every temple of Central India, and among all those Indian nations where the fashions of the Mussulmans have made but little progress. Those travellers who fancied the contrary had seen little of India but Bombay. From these circumstances, then, nothing can be learned as to the antiquity of this wonderful cavern, and I am myself disposed, for several reasons, to think that this is not very remote.

The rock out of which the temple is carved, is by no means calculated to resist, for any great length of time, the ravages of the weather. It evidently suffers much from the annual rains; a great number of the pillars, (nearly one-third of the whole,) have been undermined by the accumulation of water in the cavern, and

the capitals of some, and part of the shafts of others, remain suspended from the top like huge stalactites, the bases having completely mouldered away. These ravages are said to have greatly increased in the memory of persons now resident in Bombay, though for many years back the cave has been protected from wanton depredation, and though the sculptures, rather than the pillars, would probably have suffered from that vulgar love of knick-knacks and specimens which prevails among the English, more than most nations of the world.

A similar rapidity of decomposition has occurred in the elephant already spoken of, which, when Niebuhr saw it, was, by his account, far more perfect than it now is. But if thirty or forty years can have produced such changes in this celebrated temple, it is hardly reasonable to suppose that any part of it is so old as is sometimes apprehended. It has been urged, as a ground for this apprehension, that the Hindoos of the present day pay no reverence to this temple, or its images. This is not altogether true, since I myself noticed very recent marks of red paint on one of the lingams, and flowers are notoriously offered up here by the people of the island. It is, however, certainly not a famous place among the Hindoos. No pilgrims come hither from a distance, nor are there any brahmins stationary at the shrine. But this proves nothing as to its antiquity, inasmuch as the celebrity of a place of worship, with them, depends on many circumstances quite distinct from the size and majesty of the building. Its founder may have died before he had completed his work, in which case nobody would go on with it. He may have failed in conciliating the brahmins; or, supposing it once to have been a place of eminence, which is a mere gratis assumption, since we have neither inscription, history, or legend to guide us,—it is impossible to say when or how it may have been desecrated, whether by the first Mussulman invaders, or by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. From the supposed neglect of the natives, therefore, nothing can be concluded, inasmuch as, from the exact similarity of mythology between these

sculptures, and the idols of the present day, it is plain that this neglect does not arise from any change of customs. It has been urged that the size and majesty of the excavation compel us to suppose that it must have been made by some powerful Hindoo sovereign, and, consequently, before the first Mussulman invasion. This would be no very appalling antiquity; but even for this there is no certain ground. The expence and labour of the undertaking are really by no means so enormous as might be fancied. The whole cavern is a mere trifle in point of extent, when compared with the great salt-mine at Northwich; and there are now, and always have been, Rajas, and wealthy merchants in India, who, though not enjoying the rank of independant sovereigns, are not unequal to the task of hewing a huge stone quarry into a cathedral. On the whole, in the perfect absence of any inscription or tradition which might guide us, we may assign to Elephanta any date we please. It may be as old as the Parthenon, or it may be as modern as Henry VIIth's chapel. But though the truth probably lies between the two, I am certainly not disposed to assign to it any great degree of antiquity.

We accompanied the Governor and a large party on a tour through Salsette on the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th [b]. This is a

[b] An excursion to Salsette to see the cave temple of Kennery, together with some interesting places on the island, had for some time been in contemplation, and we set out on the 25th to join Mr. Elphinstone and a large party at Toolsey. On leaving Matoonga, an artillery cantonment about the centre of the island, the country became interesting as well from its novelty as from its increased beauty. The road lay principally through a valley formed by hills of a moderate height, covered, wherever the rocks allowed of its growth, with underwood to their summits, while the valleys were planted with groves of mangoes and palms, with some fine timber trees. A very shallow arm of the sea divides Bombay from Salsette, and on an eminence commanding it is a fort, apparently of some strength, built originally as a defence against the Maharattas, and still inhabited by an European officer with a small guard; the islands are now connected by a causeway. The mountains in Salsette are considerably higher than those of Bombay, but covered with thicker jungle, while the valleys are more shut in, and consequently less healthy. We saw but few traces of inhabitants during a drive of eight miles, passing but one small village consisting of a most miserable collection of huts.

At Vear we left our carriages, and proceeded on horseback and in palanqueens through the

very beautiful island, united with the smaller one of Bombay by a causeway, built in the time of Governor Duncan, a work of great

jungle to Toolsey, the place of our encampment. This lovely spot is surrounded by mountains of considerable height, forming a small wooded amphitheatre, in the centre of which grows a fine banyan-tree. Here our tents were pitched, and I never saw a more beautiful scene than it afforded. The brilliant colours and varieties of dress on innumerable servants, the horses bivouacked under the trees with each its attendant saees, the bullocks, carts, hackeries, and natives of all descriptions in crowds, the fires prepared for cooking, the white tents pitched in the jungle, together with the groupes formed by the different parties on their arrival, altogether formed a *coup d'œil* which I can never forget, and which can be only seen in a tropical climate.

Our tent was pitched close to a tyger-trap, then unset; there are a good many tygers in the island, and one was killed a short time previous to our arrival. This was the first night I had ever slept under canvass, and but for the heat, which was intense, I could not have wished for more comfortable quarters; but Toolsey, from its peculiar situation, is reckoned one of the hottest places in India.

Early the next morning the Bishop and I mounted our horses, and took an exploring ride among the rocks and woods; some rain had fallen in the night, which had cooled and refreshed the air. The morning was delightful, a number of singing-birds, among whose notes I could distinguish those of the nightingale and thrush, were performing a beautiful concert, while the jungle-fowl were crowing merrily all around, and monkeys, the first which I had seen in their natural state, were sporting with their young ones among the trees; I enjoyed the ride exceedingly, and left the rocks with regret, though, from the sun being clouded over, we had been already enabled to stay out till eight o'clock.

After breakfast, at which meal we all assembled in the public tent, some Cashmerian singers, with one Nâch man, dressed in female clothes, amused us with their songs and national dances. Some of their tunes were very pretty, and the dancing was more energetic than any which I had seen in Calcutta, and generally accompanied the singing; at the end of each verse the performer made a pirouette, and squatted down, forming with his clothes what, in our counties, is called a Cheshire-cheese.

At four o'clock in the evening we set out, some on horse-back, and some in palanqueens, to the caves, with which the hill is literally perforated. . . . It was late before we returned. Our path wound along the sides of the rocks, and was hardly wide enough in places for a palanqueen to pass. The effect of so large a party proceeding in single file, with torches, occasionally appearing and disappearing among the rocks and woods, with a bright Indian moon shining over-head, was picturesque and beautiful in the highest degree. I happened to be the last, and had a full view of the procession, which extended for nearly half a mile. In northern latitudes one can form no idea of the brilliancy of the moon, nor of the beauty of a night such as this, rendered more enjoyable from the respite which it affords from the heat of the day.

*April* 25.—We left our tents early the next morning, Mrs. Macdonald and I, with most of the gentlemen of the party, on horseback, to proceed to Tanna, a town with a fort, on the eastern coast of the island. From thence to Salsette we went in a bunder boat, and there

convenience to the natives, who bring vegetables to the Bombay market, but so narrow, and with so inconvenient an angle in its course, that many Europeans object to pass it in carriages. We went over, however, without scruple, as there is, under ordinary circumstances, no real danger. Some persons maintain that the construction of this causeway has done harm to the upper part of the harbour by diminishing its back-water. The thing is certainly possible, but I could not find any naval men who ascribed much weight to it.

Beyond, the woody hills of Salsette rise very majestically; and the road, which winds at their feet round the island, offers many points of view of uncommon beauty and interest. These roads are equal to the best in Europe, and are now receiving an

embarked on board the Governor's yacht, where we found breakfast prepared, and sailed for about seven miles through scenery of a very remarkable character. The islands between which we passed lie so close to each other, that I could scarcely believe myself on the sea. On one side the prospect is bounded by the magnificent Ghâts, with their fantastic basaltic summits, and the islands are occasionally adorned with ruins of Portuguese churches and convents. In one of these, Gorabunder, situated on a steep eminence, and guarded by a fort, we dined and slept.

*April* 28.—We embarked after breakfast in the yacht to go to Bassein, formerly a fortified Portuguese town, in Arungabad, which was taken by the Maharattas about the middle of the last century, and since ceded to the English. When we arrived under its walls, we found our palanqueens were not come; and, as the water-gate was shut, we set off to walk to the opposite side. We walked for nearly two miles, exposed to the noon-day sun, the heat increased by the reflection from the white walls, with the sand, ankle-deep, so hot as to be painful to our feet, while to the bare-footed natives it was absolutely insupportable, and they fairly ran off.

I do not think the ruins themselves repaid us for the trouble we had taken to see them, as, with the exception of a pagoda, with the sacred bull well carved at its entrance, they were all in the style of conventual architecture common in the early part of the seventeenth century; but I was much struck, on entering the massive and well-guarded gate, with the scene of utter desolation which presented itself; it reminded me of some story of enchantment which I had read in my childhood, and I could almost have expected to see the shades of its original inhabitants flitting about among the jungle, which now grows in melancholy luxuriance in the courts and areas of churches, convents, and houses. We none of us suffered from the fatigue and heat, another convincing proof of the innoxious effects of the sun here as compared with Bengal. On our return to Gorabunder we found all things ready for our journey to Bombay, where we arrived late at night, much interested and gratified by all we had seen and done.

*Extract from the Editor's Journal.*

additional improvement by the adoption, though but an incomplete and misunderstood one, of M'Adam's system. In other respects the country is strangely unimproved, having no towns except Tannah and Gorabunder, (the first of which is indeed a neat and flourishing place,—the other not much better than a poor village,) very little cultivation, except the tara-palm and coco-nut, which grow almost spontaneously amid the jungle, and displaying in the cottages of its peasantry a degree of poverty and rudeness which I had seen no where in India except among the Bheels. Notwithstanding, indeed, its vicinity to the seat of Government, no small proportion of its inhabitants are at this day in a state as wild as the wildest Bheels, and their customs and manners as little known as those of the Goonds in Central India. These are the burners of charcoal, an occupation exercised by a peculiar caste, who dwell entirely in the woods, have neither intermarriage nor intercourse with the Hindoo inhabitants of the plain, and bring down their loads of charcoal to particular spots, whence it is carried away by these last, who deposit in its place a payment settled by custom, of rice, clothing, and iron tools. This is the account given me by Mr. Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, who has made several attempts to become better acquainted with this unfortunate tribe, but has only very imperfectly succeeded, owing to their excessive shyness, and the contempt in which they are held by their Hindoo neighbours. I have felt much anxiety to learn more, under an idea, that among such a race as these the establishment of schools, and a missionary, would, at least, meet with no opposition. But I have been unsuccessful in my enquiries, and where Mr. Elphinstone, with his extraordinary talents and great opportunities had learned so little, I was not likely to succeed better.

This neglected and uncivilized state of Salsette is the more remarkable, not only because the neighbourhood of Bombay, and the excessive price of provisions there, would seem to lead to the cultivation of every inch of ground, but because the numerous

ruins of handsome churches and houses remaining from the old Portuguese settlements, prove, no less than the accounts of the island by Fryer and Della Valle, that, in their time, and under their government, a very different face of things was presented. The original ruin of the country would, no doubt, naturally follow its conquest from the Portuguese by the Maharattas. But, as thirty years and upwards have passed since the Maharattas ceded it to us, it seems strange that a country which, as Mr. Elphinstone assured me, is neither sterile nor unwholesome, should remain so little improved. The population, however, poor as it is, and chiefly occupied in fishing, amounts to 50,000, a number which might be trebled if cultivation were extended at any thing like the rate which it has been done in Bengal. But Salsette seems a spot where, of all others, European colonization would be most harmless and beneficial. It has, however, been attempted in two instances only, and, to be successful, seems to require a more advantageous and permanent tenure than the company have yet been induced to grant of their lands, and, perhaps, a freer trade in sugar than the present colonial system of England allows to her eastern empire.

Tannah is chiefly inhabited by Roman Catholic Christians, either converted Hindoos or Portuguese, who have become as black as the natives, and assumed all their habits. It has, also, a considerable cantonment of British troops, a collector and magistrate, for whose use a very neat Church was building when I first visited it. There is a small but regular fortress, from which, during the late Maharatta war, Trimbuckgee escaped in the manner I have elsewhere related. Tannah, as I afterwards learned from a Parsee innkeeper at Panwellee, is also famous for its breed of hogs, and the manner in which its Portuguese inhabitants cure bacon. It receives a monthly visit from the Chaplain stationed at Matoonga, the head-quarters of the artillery in the island of Bombay.

At Gorabunder is a small but handsome building, nearly in the form of a Church, with a nave leading to a circular chancel,

covered with a high cupola, and surrounded by a verandah. The whole is arched with stone, and very solidly built. It is generally regarded as having been a Portuguese Church, but has not been used as such in the memory of man, and differs from most other Churches, in having its entrance at the East instead of the West end. It is now used as an occasional residence for the Governor and his friends, and is, in fact, a very cool and convenient house for this climate, and commands a magnificent view.

About fifteen miles from Gorabunder, on the main land, is the city of Bassein, once a celebrated colony of the Portuguese, taken from them by the Maharattas, and lost by them to the English. It is of considerable size, and surrounded by a regular fortification of rampart and bastions, but without a glacis, which from the marshy nature of the surrounding country, was, perhaps, thought needless. There is a small guard stationed in one of the gates, under an English conductor of ordnance, and the place is kept locked up, but is within perfectly uninhabited, and containing nothing but a single small pagoda in good repair, and a melancholy display of ruined houses and Churches. Of the latter there are no fewer than seven, some of considerable size, but all of mean architecture, though they are striking from the lofty proportions usual in Roman Catholic places of worship, and from the singularity of Christian and European ruins in India. The largest of these Churches, I was assured by a Maharatta of rank, a protegé of Mr. Elphinstone's who accompanied us, was built by a man who had made a large fortune by selling slippers. It contains no inscription, that I could see, to confirm or invalidate this testimony, nor any date whatever, but one on a monument to a certain Donna Maria de Souza, of 1606.

The Portuguese Churches in this place and Salsette, are all in a paltry style enough, of Grecian mixed with Gothic. In Bassein they have tower-steeples without spires, in Salsette the small arched pediment to hang the bell which is usual in Wales. Their roofs, where they remain, are very steep and covered with

tiles, and one of those in Bassein, which appears to have belonged to a house of Jesuits, has the remains of a handsome coved ceiling of teak, carved and gilded. They are melancholy objects to look at, but they are monuments, nevertheless, of departed greatness, of a love of splendour far superior to the anxiety for amassing money by which other nations have been chiefly actuated, and of a zeal for God which, if not according to knowledge, was a zeal still, and a sincere one. It was painful to me, at the time, to think, how few relics, if the English were now expelled from India, would be left behind of their religion, their power, or their civil and military magnificence. Yet on this side of India there is really more zeal and liberality displayed in the improvement of the country, the construction of roads and public buildings, the conciliation of the natives and their education, than I have yet seen in Bengal. Mr. Elphinstone is evidently anxious to do all in his power to effect these objects.

The principal curiosities of Salsette, and those which were our main object in this little tour, are the cave temples of Kennery. These are, certainly, in every way remarkable from their number, their beautiful situation, their elaborate carving, and their marked connexion with Buddha and his religion. The caves are scattered over two sides of a high rocky hill, at many different elevations, and of various sizes and forms. Most of them appear to have been places of habitation for monks or hermits. One very beautiful apartment of a square form, its walls covered with sculpture, and surrounded internally by a broad stone bench, is called "the durbar," but I should rather guess had been a school. Many have deep and well-carved cisterns attached to them, which, even in this dry season, were well supplied with water. The largest and most remarkable of all is a Buddhist temple, of great beauty and majesty, and which even in its present state would make a very stately and convenient place of Christian worship. It is entered through a fine and lofty portico, having on its front, but a little to the left-hand, a high detached octagonal pillar, sur-

mounted by three lions seated back to back. On the East side of the portico is a colossal statue of Buddha, with his hands raised in the attitude of benediction, and the screen which separates the vestibule from the temple is covered, immediately above the dodo, with a row of male and female figures, nearly naked, but not indecent, and carved with considerable spirit, which apparently represent dancers. In the centre is a large door, and, above it, three windows contained in a semicircular arch, so like those which are seen over the entrance of Italian Churches, that I fully supposed them to be an addition to the original plan by the Portuguese, who are said, I know not on what ground, to have used this cave as a Church, till I found a similar and still more striking window of the same kind in the great cave of Carlee. Within, the apartment is, I should conceive, fifty feet long by twenty, an oblong square terminated by a semicircle, and surrounded on every side, but that of the entrance, with a colonnade of octagonal pillars. Of these the twelve on each side nearest the entrance are ornamented with carved bases and capitals, in the style usual in Indian temples. The rest are unfinished.

In the centre of the semicircle, and with a free walk all round it, is a mass of rock left solid, but carved externally like a dome, and so as to bear a strong general likeness to our Saviour's sepulchre, as it is now chisled away and enclosed in St. Helena's Church at Jerusalem. On the top of the dome is a sort of spreading ornament like the capital of a column. It is, apparently, intended to support something, and I was afterwards told at Carlee, where such an ornament, but of greater size, is also found, that a large gilt umbrella used to spring from it. This solid dome appears to be the usual symbol of Buddhist adoration, and, with its umbrella ornament, may be traced in the Shoo-Madoo of Pegu, and other more remote structures of the same faith. Though it is different in its form and style of ornament from the lingam, I cannot help thinking it has been originally intended to represent the same popular object of that almost universal idolatry, which

Scripture, with good reason, describes as "uncleanness and abomination."

The ceiling of this cave is arched semi-circularly, and ornamented, in a very singular manner, with slender ribs of teak-wood of the same curve with the roof, and disposed as if they were supporting it, which, however, it does not require, nor are they strong enough to answer the purpose. Their use may have been to hang lamps or flowers from in solemn rejoicings. My companions in this visit, who shewed themselves a little jealous of the antiquity of these remains, and of my inclination to detract from it, would have had me suppose that these two were additions by the Portuguese. But there are similar ribs at Carlee where the Portuguese never were. They cannot be very old, and though they certainly may have been added or renewed since the building was first constructed, they must, at all events, refer to a time when it and the forms of its worship were held in honour. The question will remain, how late or how early the Buddhists ceased to be rich and powerful in Western India? or when, if ever, the followers of the Brahminical creed were likely to pay honour to Buddhist symbols of the Deity?

The latter question is at variance with all usual opinions as to the difference between these sects and the animosity which has ever prevailed betwixt them. But I have been very forcibly struck by the apparent identity of the Buddhist chattah and the Brahminical lingam. The very name of the great temple of Ava, "Shoo Madoo," "Golden Maha-Deo," seems to imply a greater approximation than is generally supposed, and above all, a few weeks afterwards, I found the cave of Carlee in the keeping of brahmins, and honoured by them as a temple of Maha-Deo. All this seems to prove that we know very little indeed of the religious history of India, that little or no credit can be given to the accounts contained in the brahminical writings, and that these accounts, even if true, may refer to, comparatively, a small part of India, while whatever is the date of these illustrious caverns, (and

Kennery I really should guess to be older than Elephanta) no stress can be laid either way on their identity or discrepancy with the modern superstition of the country, or the alleged neglect of the natives. On one of the pillars of the portico of the great cave at Kennery is an inscription in a character different both from the Nagree and the popular running hand which, more than Nagree, prevails with the Maharattas.

There are many similar instances in different parts of India of inscriptions in characters now unintelligible; nor will any one who knows how exceedingly incurious the brahmins are on all such subjects wonder that they are not able to assist Europeans in decyphering them. But it would be a very useful, and by no means a difficult task, to collect copies of some of the most remarkable, and compare them with each other; since we should thus, at least, ascertain whether one or many characters prevailed in India before the use of the present alphabets; and, in the first case, from the knowledge of the date of some few buildings, where this character is found, be able to guess that of others whose history is unknown. The inscription of Pertaubghur, that on the column of Firoze Shah at Delhi, and on the similar column at Koottab-sahib might thus be collated, with, probably, many others as yet unknown to me, and the result might tell something more than we yet know respecting the antiquities of this great and interesting country.

In Mr. Elphinstone's party on this occasion was a French officer, the chevalier Rienzi, (a descendant of the celebrated tribune, the friend of Petrarch,) who was just arrived from a journey through a considerable part of Egypt and Abyssinia. I was anxious to know what degree of likeness and what comparative merit he discovered between these caves and those of Thebes, &c. He said that the likeness between Kennery and the Egyptian caves was very slight and general, and in point of beauty very greatly preferred these last. He had not, however, seen Elephanta.

There is a very fine view from the brow of the cliff above Kennery, of which my wife made an accurate drawing. We saw many monkeys in the woods, and some beautiful lizards, with a bright red crest like that of a cock. I also thought I heard partridges calling. Tygers are found in these woods, but seldom attack people where there are many together, or between sunrise and sunset.

The heat was very great during this excursion, but we had sufficient proof either that the sun, at its greatest strength, is not so dangerous here as in Bengal, or else that more precautions are commonly used against it in Calcutta than is absolutely necessary. On the morning of the 27th, not only all the men in the party, but my wife and Mrs. Macdonald rode from our encampment to Tannah, seven or eight miles, at a brisk pace, and along a dusty and unsheltered road, without any inconvenience that I heard of: and at Bassein on the 28th, at the hottest part of the day and the year, we were all of us walking about round the town and amid the ruins for nearly two hours without even umbrellas. It is possible that in Bengal people are sometimes needlessly afraid of the sun. But there really should seem to be something in the refraction of the soil, the abundance of moisture, or some similar cause which renders the heat in Bengal, though not more intense, yet to use an expression of an old Indian, more *venomous* than in most other parts of India.

There are cave temples of the same kind with those of Kennery, but smaller and less interesting, at Mompezier and Ambowlee. We passed these places in our return, but we had, as it unfortunately happened, no time to stop, being obliged to return home for the ensuing Sunday. Having seen the best, we felt, indeed, no great anxiety to give ourselves any inconvenient trouble about the worse. We returned to Bombay by the ferry of Mahim, a large and very populous though meanly built town, overhung by a profusion of palm-trees.

The bungalows on the esplanade of Bombay are all temporary

buildings, and removed as soon as the rains begin to fall[c]. We were, accordingly, driven from ours on Saturday the 4th of June,

[c] At the commencement of the hot season, those Europeans who are obliged by business, or other circumstances, to have their principal residences within the fort, erect bungalows on the adjoining esplanade, which are, many of them, remarkably elegant buildings, but quite unfit to resist the violence of the monsoon. On its approach their inhabitants return into the fort, the bungalows are taken down and preserved for another year, and their place is, in a very short time, occupied by a sheet of water. The esplanade is on the sea beach, with the black town at its furthest end, amidst a grove of coco-trees. This town stretches across the whole end of the island, and makes the communication between the fort and the interior unpleasant, from the heat and dust of its narrow streets. The houses within the fort are of a singular construction, and quite unlike any in the East of India, being generally of three or four stories high, with wooden verandahs, supported by wooden pillars, projecting one above another;—these pillars, as well as the fronts of the verandahs, are often very beautifully carved, but the streets are so narrow that it is impossible to have a complete view of them. The prospect from some parts of the fort is extremely beautiful, looking across the bay, over islands, many of them covered with wood, to the Ghâts, which form a magnificent back-ground to the picture. A great number of Parsees live within the walls; they are a frugal and industrious race, who possess a considerable part of the island, and are partners in almost all the commercial houses, as well as great ship-builders and ship-owners. The " Lowjee Family," a large vessel of 1,000 tons, in which I came from Calcutta, belongs to a family of that name, whose head has an excellent house near Pareil. In our early and late rides I have been interested in observing these men on the shore, with their faces turned towards the East or West, worshipping the rising and setting sun, frequently standing within the surge, their hands joined, and praying aloud with much apparent devotion, though, to my astonishment, I was assured, in a language unintelligible to themselves; others are to be seen prostrate on the ground, devoutly rubbing their noses and foreheads in the sand; they worship the four elements, but give the pre-eminence to fire. Their principal temple is in the centre of the black town, where the everlasting fire is preserved by the priests. I never observed their women at prayer, but they are hourly to be seen mixed with Hindoos and Mussulmans, in crowds surrounding the wells on the esplanade, (which Mr. Elphinstone had sunk at the commencement of the drought, but which in this severe scarcity hardly supply the population with water) and scrambling for their turn to fill the pitcher and the skin. In this respect there is a remarkable difference between the customs of the Bombay women and those of their Bengalee sisterhood, who are seldom seen drawing water for any purposes. The principal Parsee burial-ground is on an eminence near the coast. I met a funeral procession in one of my rides, just on the point of ascending it, which had a singular effect among the trees and jungle; the body was laid on a bier, covered with a white cloth, and carried by six men clothed in long white garments, and closely veiled; it was preceded and followed by a number of persons in the same costume, walking two and two, each pair linked together with a white handkerchief. They object to any Europeans approaching their burial-ground; indeed, in former times, Mr. Elphinstone told me, *a Giaour* found within their precincts was liable to be expelled the island. But a friend of ours, who contrived to gain access to it, gave me the

and most hospitably received as guests by Mr. Elphinstone in the government house at Pareil.

There are three government residencies in the island of Bombay. The one within the walls of the fort, though large and convenient, is little used except for holding councils, public Durbars, and the dispatch of business. It is a spacious dismal-looking building, like many of the other large houses in Bombay, looking like a Stadthaus in a German free city. At Malabar-point, about eight miles from the town, is a very pretty cottage, in a beautiful situation on a rocky and woody promontory, and actually washed by the sea-spray, where Mr. Elphinstone chiefly resides during the hot weather[d]. The third and principal is Pareil, about six miles from Bombay, at a short distance from the eastern shore of the island. The interior of the house is very handsome, having a fine stair-case, and two noble rooms, one over the other, of 75 or 80 feet long, very handsomely furnished. The lower of these, which is the dining room, is said to have been an old and desecrated

following description of one of them. A deep well, of very large diameter, is sunk in the hill, the sides are built round near the surface, and partitioned into three different receptacles, for men, women, and children; on ledges within these partitions the bodies are placed, and left exposed to the vultures, who are always hovering in the neighbourhood, while the friends anxiously wait at some distance to ascertain which eye is first torn out, inferring from thence whether the souls are happy or miserable. When the flesh is consumed, the bones are thrown down the well, into which subterranean passages lead, for the purpose of removing them when it becomes too full. The Christian Church-yard, the Mussulman burial-ground, the place where the Hindoos burn their dead, and the Parsee vault, are all within a short distance of each other.—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*

[d] From Mr. Elphinstone's house there is a magnificent view of the town and harbour; and at the extremity of this promontory in a part of the rock which it is difficult to approach, are the remains of a pagoda, and a hole, famous as a place of resort for Hindoo devotees, who believe that on entering it they are purified from all their sins, and come out regenerate. The western side of the promontory is considered as one of the healthiest situations in Bombay, and there are several European houses on the beach; there is also a beautiful village, almost solely inhabited by Brahmins, with a very fine tank in its centre, and some magnificent flights of steps leading to the water. These people seem to enjoy the beau idéal of Hindoo luxury, occupied only in the ceremonies of their religion, and passing the rest of their lives in silent contemplation, as they would themselves assert, but, as I should rather express it, in sleeping and smoking.—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*

church belonging to a Jesuit college, which had fallen into the hands of a Parsee from whom it was purchased by Government about sixty years ago.

Behind the house is a moderate-sized, old-fashioned garden, in which (it may be some time or other interesting to recollect) is planted a slip of the willow which grows on Buonaparte's grave. Adjoining is a small paddock, or rather yard, full of different kinds of deer, who are fed, like sheep, by hand, and another little yard containing some wild animals, of which the most interesting are a noble wild ass from Cutch, and a very singular ape from Sumatra. The former is about as high as a well-grown galloway, a beautiful animal, admirably formed for fleetness and power, apparently very gentle and very fond of horses, and by no means disliked by them, in which respect the asses of India differ from all others of which I have heard; the same fact has been told me of the wild ass in Rajpootana. No attempt has, however, been made to break him in for riding, and it is, doubtless, now too late. Mr. Elphinstone said that he had never heard of any thing of the sort being tried by the natives, though they are much in the habit of mounting different animals, such as stags, &c.

The ape is a very curious animal, answering, so far as I can recollect, exactly to the account given of the "pigmy," or small ouran outang, brought from Africa to Europe about the beginning of the last century, of whose habits, exterior, and dissection after death, a particular account is given in the old French Compendium called "Le Spectacle de la Nature." It is a female, and apparently young, about three feet high, and very strong, stands erect with ease and as if naturally, but in walking or running soon recurs to the use of all four hands or feet. It has a very large head and prominent belly, has but little hair on its body, and a flat and broad face. Its arms are longer than the human proportion, but, in other respects, strikingly like the human arm, and as well as the legs furnished with *calves*, or whatever else, in the case of arms, those swelling muscles may be termed. It is of a gentle

and lazy disposition, fond of its keeper and quiet with every body except when teazed; when made to climb a tree ascends no higher than it is urged to go, and when turned loose in the most distant part of the garden makes no use of its liberty except to run as fast as its four legs will carry it to its cage again. The natives make a marked distinction between this animal and their usual large baboon, calling it not "lungoor," but "junglee admee," "wild man." They evidently regard it as a great curiosity, and, I apprehend, it owes something of its corpulency to their presents of fruit [e].

[e] About half-a-mile from the house, and following, on one side, the course of the sea, is a very extensive wood, principally of coco-trees, through which the road runs for about three miles, to the town and ferry of Mahim. This wood is thickly inhabited by people of all religions, but the Portuguese Christians, who perfectly resemble the natives in dress and appearance, seem to be the most numerous; and the circumstance of there being here the ruins of a College, as well as a church, with the Priests' house attached to it, would prove it to have been the principal settlement on the island. There are also several Hindoo and Mussulman mosques and pagodas. The wood is so intersected by roads and paths, with but few objects to serve as land-marks, that a stranger would have much difficulty in finding his way out of the labyrinth of trees and huts.

The town of Mahim is ill-built, but it has a fort, a Catholic church, and other monuments of former prosperity. The priests are, for the most part, educated at Goa, and Mr. Elphinstone says are, occasionally, well-informed men. The adjoining ferry we crossed on our return from the excursion to Salsette; a causeway is built half-way over the frith, from whence a raft conveys carriages and passengers to Mahim. We had, on that occasion, a curious specimen of the perfect apathy and helplessness of the natives, which is worth notice. There were five carriages to cross the ferry, each of which required above half-an-hour for transportation. When the tide is in, the causeway is quite overflowed; a circumstance of which we were not aware, and allowed ourselves to be driven to its extremity, there to wait while the carriages that preceded us were ferried over. The coachman and horse-keepers, (by which name the saees is known here,) unharnessed the horses, took the pole out of the carriage, and then sat down with perfect unconcern to wait their turn for embarking. We walked for some time up and down the causeway, till we became aware that our space was much contracted, aud that the road behind us was, in parts, covered with water. We questioned the servants, (natives of the island,) but they were as ignorant as ourselves of the height to which the tide usually rose, and seemed quite indifferent on the subject. We now began to think our situation rather precarious, and determined on returning while it was in our power, instead of waiting for the raft. But this was not the work of a moment, as the width of the causeway only allowed of the carriage being turned by men, and by the time it was accomplished, and the horses harnessed, the water had risen as high as the doors. The scene was beautiful and wild; it was night, the

The monsoon, which began with violence, was interrupted by above a fortnight's dry weather, to the great alarm of the natives, who, having had two years of drought, now began to fear a third, and a consequent famine with all its full extent of horrors. Several inauspicious prophecies (most popular prophecies are of evil) were propagated, with the pretended facts "that two years drought had never occurred in India except they were followed by a third;" that "the same winds were said by the Arab traders to prevail in the Red Sea this year as had prevailed the two last, and as always prevailed there when the monsoon failed in this country." At length the clouds again thickened; and the rain came on with heavy gales and in abundant quantities, so that the intermission which had occurred was reckoned highly advantageous, in having given more time to the peasants to get their rice sown and transplanted. The rain I thought heavier and more continuous than any thing which I had seen in Calcutta, but unaccompanied by the violent north-westers, and terrific thunder and lightening which prevail at this season in Bengal. Here, as there, a great change for the better takes place in the temperature of the air; and heavy as the rains are, few days occur in which one may not enjoy a ride either early in the morning, or in the afternoon. The frogs are as large, as numerous, and as noisy here as in the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

Though I had heard much of the extreme humidity of the climate of Bombay, I do not think that my experience justified this character; or that our papers, books, or steel, either moulded or rusted so fast as in Bengal. The soil is, indeed, rocky and shallow; and though the rice-grounds here, as elsewhere, are mere washes during the whole seed-time, I do not think the water either

glorious moon and stars shining over-head, and reflected with brilliancy in the still waters, in the middle of which we appeared to stand, without any visible means of escape. A canoe, just large enough to hold us, at this moment came up, and we were rowed with extraordinary swiftness to shore, leaving the carriage to follow, which it did in perfect safety. If the night had been stormy our situation might have been one of danger.—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*

spreads so widely, or lies so long, as in the neighbourhood of the Ganges.

*June* 27.—I set out to-day, accompanied by Archdeacon Barnes, on a journey into the Deckan. Having sent off our horses and servants the preceding morning, we embarked in a small boat with latine sails, and stood across the arm of the sea which divides Bombay from the continent. We went N.E. with a fine breeze, a distance of 20 or 22 miles, passing Butcher's Island and Elephanta to our left, and in about four hours arrived in a small river on which stands the town of Panwellee. Its bed is much choked with rocks; and, being a little too early for the tide, we were delayed and found some difficulty in our progress, and were at length obliged to go on shore in a small canoe, the narrowest which I had yet seen, and cut out of a single tree. This landed us on a pretty good stone pier, beyond which we found a small-sized country town, with a pagoda, a handsome tomb of a Mussulman saint, and a pretty quiet view of surrounding hills and woods. We found a comfortable bungalow, built and kept up by Government, for the accommodation of travellers, and two taverns, one kept by a Portuguese, the other by a Parsee, the latter of whom, at a very short notice, procured us a dinner, at least, as well got up, as cleanly, and as good, as could have been expected at a country inn in England.

After dinner we set out in palanqueens, in heavy rain, which lasted all night, and went twelve miles to Chowkee, where we found another Government bungalow, and another decent Parsee tavern, at the latter of which we remained some hours, while our bearers rested, so as to enable them to carry us on the next stage. No such thing as a regular Dâk establishment (such as in Bengal enables travellers to find, at a short notice, and a moderate expence, bearers ready placed in all the villages where there are post-offices,) exists in this part of India. Bearers are only procured in large towns; and in order to obtain their services at intervening stations, they must be brought from these towns, at considerable

expence, and often from a considerable distance. In consequence it becomes a necessary part of economy to engage one set of bearers to go as far as they can, and enable them to do so by halts of this kind, which the institution of bungalows renders much less inconvenient than it would be in the north. The Parsee tavern-keeper of Chowkee furnished us with tea, and sofas, which serve very well as beds on occasion.

At two o'clock in the morning we again set off, and, after some delay and difficulty in fording rivers, arrived about six at a very pretty village, named Capoolee, with a fine tank, and temple of Mahadeo, built by the celebrated Maharatta minister Nana Furnaveez. The road all the way was excellent, made at a great expence, more than sufficiently wide, and well raised above the low swampy level of the Concan. The journey was to me, however, sufficiently unpleasant. I cannot sleep in a palanqueen,—the rain beat in through the front blinds, which could never be perfectly closed, and through the side-doors, which I was obliged to open occasionally for want of air; and the wearisome darkness of the night, and the dismal grunting of my bearers, who, as a matter of custom, rather than from any inability to bear their burthen, trot on with much the same sort of noise, but deeper and more plaintive, which the paviors make in England,—made me renew an old resolution, to have, in future, as little to do with palanqueens as possible, at least in the night time.

From Capoolee, though it was still raining, I walked up the Bhor Ghât, four miles and a half, to Candaulah, the road still broad and good, but the ascent very steep, so much so, indeed, that a loaded carriage, or even a palanqueen with any body in it, could with great difficulty be forced along it. In fact, every one either walks or rides up the hills, and all merchandise is conveyed on bullocks or horses. The ascent might, I think, have been rendered, by an able engineer, much more easy. But to have carried a road over these hills at all, considering how short a time they have been in our power, is highly creditable to the Bombay

Government; and the road, as it now stands, and with all its inconveniences, is probably sufficient for the intercourse which either is, or is likely to be, between the Concan and the Deckan.

The views offered from different parts of this ascent are very beautiful, and much reminded me of some parts of the Vale of Corwen. The mountains are nearly the same height (from 2000 to 3000 feet above the level of the sea,) with the average of Welch mountains; and the freshness and verdure which clothes them during the rains, as well as the fleecy clouds continually sweeping over them, increased their likeness to the green dells and moist climate of Gwyneth. In one respect, and only one, the Ghâts have the advantage,—their precipices are higher, and the outline of the hills consequently bolder. That outline, indeed, is remarkable, consisting, in by far the majority of instances, of a plane table summit, or else a long horizontal ridge, supported by sides as steep and regular as if artificially scarped, with natural terraces at uncertain heights, each with its own precipice, affording a striking specimen of what is called the trap formation. There is a good deal of forest timber on the sides of these hills, and the gorges of the valleys are thickly wooded. The trees, however, are not, singly taken, of any great size, either here or in the Deckan, or in Bombay, a circumstance in which these countries seem remarkably contrasted with Guzerât, and the greater part of northern India.

Near Candaulah is a waterfall, which flows all the year, and at this season is very full and beautiful. It falls in three or four successive descents down one of the highest precipices I ever saw, not less, I should apprehend, than 1200 feet, into a valley of very aweful depth and gloom, down which its stream winds to join the sea, nearly opposite to Tannah, under the name of the Callianee river. On a knoll above this waterfall, and close to the great precipice, Mr. Elphinstone has a small house, where he passes a part of each cold season. I saw it only from a distance, but should suppose it to be a delightful residence.

Candaulah is a poor village, but with a tolerable bazar, and, besides the Government bungalow for travellers, which is mean and ill-contrived, has a tavern, kept by a Portuguese, consisting of one waste room, like a barn, with an inscription in broken English over the door, announcing that "at the Hotel of the Santa Anunciation, all *nexeary* victuals may be *prquired*."

In ascending the Ghâts to Candaulah, I was met by six armed horsemen, part of an escort obligingly sent me by Mr. Chaplin, the Commissioner in the Deckan. This is now more a mark of respect, and calculated to conciliate the respect of the natives, than a measure of any real necessity on this road. The population, however, of these mountains used, at no long time ago, to be frequently troublesome and dangerous to passengers, and still, sometimes indulge in their old habits towards native travellers, though with Europeans they seldom if ever venture to meddle. They are of the same caste and family of people with the Coolies of Guzerât, and call themselves by that name. They are, however, less tall and robust than those hardy barbarians, and seem a link between them and the Bheels. The Bheels themselves are not found farther south than the neighbourhood of Damaun; and on the hills which overhang the southern Concan, a tribe of nearly similar habits but different language, the Canars, takes the place of the Coolies. The plain country, both of the Concans and the more elevated level of the Deckan, is inhabited by Maharattas, a peaceable and industrious race, among whom there should seem to be fewer remarkable crimes against society than, with a similar population, is found in most parts of India. The horsemen who were sent to me were natives of Hindostan, in the service of the police. They had been originally in Colonel Skinner's corps, wore its uniform, and appeared much delighted to find that I knew all about their old commander, and had been, myself, at Delhi.

The cottages both in the Concan and in the Deckan are small and mean, with steep thatched roofs, and very low side walls of

loose stones, and there is a general appearance of poverty both in the dress and farming-implements of the people. Their cattle, however, are of a larger and better breed than those of Bengal; and notwithstanding the long drought, were, when I saw them, in better case than I could have expected.

In the afternoon of this day, (the 28th,) I rode on horseback, accompanied by Dr. Barnes, the stage between Candaulah and Carlee, diverging from the road about a mile to visit the celebrated cavern which takes its name from this last place, and which is hewn on the face of a precipice about two-thirds up the side of a steep hill, rising with a very scarped and regular talus, to the height of, probably, 800 feet above the plain. The excavations consist, besides the principal temple, of many smaller apartments and galleries, in two stories, some of them ornamented with great beauty, and evidently intended like those at Kennery, for the lodging of monks or hermits. The temple itself is on the same general plan as that of Kennery, but half as large again, and far finer and richer. It is approached by a steep and narrow path winding up the side of the hill, among trees and brushwood, and fragments of rock. This brought us to a mean and ruinous temple of Siva, which serves as a sort of gateway to the cave; a similar small building stands on the right hand of its portico, and we were immediately surrounded by some naked and idle brahmin boys, who, with an old woman of the same caste, called themselves the keepers of the sanctuary, and offered their services to shew its wonders and tell its history. I asked them who was its founder, and they answered, "King Pandoo," who is, indeed, as Mr. Elphinstone afterwards told me, the reputed architect of all these cave temples, and in general, like our Arthur, of all ancient monuments whose real history is unknown. King Pandoo and his four brethren are the principal heroes of the celebrated Hindoo romance of the Mahabharat, and the apparent identity of his name with that of the "Pandion" of whose territories in India the Greeks heard so much, is too remarkable to be passed unnoticed.

The approach to the temple is, like that at Kennery, under a noble arch, filled up with a sort of portico screen, in two stories of three intercolumniations below, and five above. In the front, but a little to the left, is the same kind of pillar as is seen at Kennery, though of larger dimensions, surmounted by three lions back to back. Within the portico, to the right and left, are three colossal figures, in alto relievo, of elephants, their faces looking towards the person who arrives in the portico, and their heads, tusks, and trunks, very boldly projecting from the wall. On each of them is a mohout very well carved, and a howdah with two persons seated in it. The internal screen, on each side of the door, is covered, as at Kennery, with alto relievos, very bold and somewhat larger than life, of naked male and female figures. I asked our young guides what deities these represented, and was surprised to hear from them in answer, "These are not Gods, one God is sufficient, these are viragees" (religious enthusiasts or attendants on the Deity.) On asking, however, if their God was the same whom they worshipped in the little temple before the steps, and if he were Maha Deo, they answered in the affirmative, so that their Deism merely extended to paying worship to a single idol only. There is, certainly, however, no image either of Buddha or any other mythological personage about this cavern, nor any visible object of devotion except the mystic chattah, or umbrella, already mentioned at Kennery.

The details of the cave within having been already more than once published, and as, in its general arrangement, it closely answers to Kennery, I will only observe that both in dimensions and execution it is much nobler and more elaborate; and that the capitals of the columns (all of them at least which are not hidden by the chattah at the East end) are very singular and beautiful. Each consists of a large cap, like a bell, finely carved, and surmounted by two elephants with their trunks entwined, and each carrying two male and one female figure, which our guides again told us were viragees.

The timber ribs which decorate the roof, whatever their use may have been, are very perfect, and have a good effect in the perspective of the interior, which is all extremely clean and in good repair, and would be, in fact, a very noble temple for any religion. On one side an old and faded dhoolie, with tattered and dirty curtains, fringes, and other marks of ancient splendour, was suspended. Our guides said it was the god's palanqueen, and was carried out on solemn occasions. I saw nothing in it now, and there was no image which could be put into it, so that I suppose it performs its procession empty. On asking where their "Deo" was, they pointed to some red paint on the front of the chattah.

On returning to our horses, we found the brahmin of the next village, who called himself a Pundit, and said he had come on purpose to explain to me all the antiquities and mysteries of the "Dewul" or temple, but the evening was shutting in too fast to admit of our scrambling half a mile up a steep cliff, to examine the cave over again; and, therefore, declining his civility, we rode across the plain to the village of Carlee, where our palanqueens were awaiting us. This plain is an unpromising mixture of rock and marsh, and even less cultivated than its unfavourable soil might lead one to expect, considering it must always have been well off for water. Like all the Deckan which I have seen it is very bare of trees, and reminded me a good deal of some parts of Rajpootana, particularly the neighbourhood of Nusseerabad. The road just finished by Government is excellent, and there is a bridge of, I think, thirteen arches, over some swampy ground near this place, of extremely solid and judicious, though simple architecture.

I had another comfortless night's journey in my palanqueen, suffering a good deal from sleeplessness, and alternate fits of shivering and heat. We reached Mr. Chaplin's bungalow in Poonah cantonment about four o'clock on the morning of the 29th, and I hoped that some hours' repose in an excellent bed would set me up again. I was mistaken, however, for in the following night I was attacked by dysentery, of which all these

had, I suppose, been the previous symptoms, and which kept me pretty closely confined during great part of my stay in Poonah. I was happy in being sufficiently recovered on Saturday to administer confirmation to about forty persons, chiefly officers and privates of His Majesty's 20th regiment, and on Sunday to consecrate the Church and preach a sermon to a numerous congregation. Mr. Chaplin, also, drove me one day round the cantonment, and on Monday I went on horseback to see the city and the Peishwah's palace.

The city of Poonah stands in the centre of a very extensive plain elevated somewhere about 2000 feet above the sea, and surrounded by hills, of the trap formation, and with the singularly scarped forms peculiar to that style of mountain, from 1500 to 2000 feet higher still. Many of these used, under the Maharatta Government, to be crowned by hill-forts, for which their form remarkably qualifies them, but by far the greater part of which have been destroyed and abandoned as useless, or worse than useless, in a campaign on the European system. It requires, indeed, no trifling victory of reason and courage over imagination, to anticipate the easy capture of a line of towers and lofty walls, well furnished with cannon, and crowning the summits of hills high and steep by nature and art. But a little experience shews that fastnesses of this kind, the more inaccessible they are from the plain, are, under ordinary circumstances, the less valuable, as depots, as commanding great roads, or as facilitating the progress or manœuvres of a defensive army. Even separately taken, and as places of refuge, it may be soon discovered that the most steep and rugged mountains, in the ravines with which they abound, afford frequently very advantageous and secure avenues, by which an attacking force may approach their walls completely covered from their artillery, while the effects of bombardment on a rocky soil are very serious and terrible to a native army. Accordingly, these sky-threatening fortresses were found, in the late war, to fall successively, and in far less time than could be expected, before

the British and Sepoy armies, while, even with all the imperfections of military architecture in India, (defects which are, of course, more conspicuous in a site where all is artificial) the cities of Belgaum and Bhurtpoor, seated on plains, but enclosing large areas, and partly defended by tanks, are those which have opposed the most formidable obstacles to our arms in this country. Still, there are some hill-forts which are so excellent in their kind, that no Government can act wisely in slighting them, and it is to be hoped that the British will not forget, in the case of Taraghur, Kullinghur, Asseerghur, and a few others, how valuable, in the event of their arms sustaining a reverse, these noble rocks may become to a retreating force, and how great their strength is likely to be when in the hands of European officers.

The plain of Poonah is very bare of trees, and though there are some gardens immediately around the city, yet as both these and the city itself lie in a small hollow on the banks of the river Moola, they are not sufficiently conspicuous to interrupt the general character of nakedness in the picture, any more than the few young trees and ornamental shrubs with which the bungalows of the cantonment are intermingled. The principal and most pleasing feature, is a small insulated hill immediately over the town, with a temple of the goddess Parvati on its summit, and a large tank which, when I saw it, was nearly dry, at its base.

All the grass-land round this tank, and generally through the Deckan, swarms with a small land-crab, which burrows in the ground, and runs with considerable swiftness, even when encumbered with a bundle of food almost as big as itself. This food is grass, or the green stalks of rice, and it is amusing to see them, sitting as it were upright, to cut their hay with their sharp pincers, then waddling off with the sheaf to their holes as quickly as their sidelong pace will carry them.

The city of Poonah is far from handsome, and of no great apparent size, though, to my surprise, I was assured that it

still contains 100,000 people. It is without walls or fort, very irregularly built and paved, with mean bazars, deep ruinous streets, interspersed with peepul-trees, &c. many small but no large or striking pagodas, and as few traces as can well be conceived of its having been so lately the residence of a powerful Sovereign. The palace is large, and contains a handsome quadrangle surrounded by cloisters of carved wooden pillars, but is, externally, of mean appearance, and the same observation will apply to other smaller residencies of the Peishwa, which, whimsically enough, are distinguished by the names of the days of the week—" Monday's Palace, Tuesday's Palace," &c. The principal building is used at present, on its ground-floor, as the prison for the town and district; on the floor immediately above is a dispensary, and a large audience chamber, resembling that at Baroda, which is fitted up with beds as an infirmary for the natives, while higher still, a long gallery is used as an insane hospital. Both these places, though, when I saw them, rather crowded, were clean and well kept, and in the latter particularly, the unfortunate patients were so clean, quiet, well-fed, and comfortably clothed, as to do very great credit to Dr. Ducat, the station Surgeon, particularly as my visit was not prepared for, or expected. The madness of most of the patients seemed of a quiet and idiotic character. One man only was pointed out to me as sometimes violent, and dangerous from his great strength. He was a sepoy, a very powerful and handsome man, who at this time, however, was walking up and down without chains, very civil, and apparently composed and tranquil. Another, with a countenance strongly denoting despondency, seemed to have contracted a friendship with a spaniel belonging to one of the attendants, which sate on his bed, and round which he kept his arms folded. Dr. Ducat asked me afterwards, if I had noticed the very peculiar conformation of these patients' skulls. I did not observe it, and therefore can only say from his word, that there was any singularity.

The cantonment of Poonah is on an elevated situation a little

to the west of the city, and in its general appearance and locality reminded me of that of Nusseerabad. Here, as there, the horses are picketted in the open air all the year round, an arrangement which is said to answer extremely well not only for cheapness and convenience, but for the health and serviceable state of the animals. The streets are wide, and the whole encampment, I thought, well arranged and handsome; there is a good station-library for the soldiers, another, supported by subscription, for the officers, and the regimental schools I was told by Archdeacon Barnes, (for I was too unwell to keep the appointment which I had made to visit them) are in excellent order. The Church is spacious and convenient, but in bad architectural taste, and made still uglier, externally, by being covered with dingy blue wash picked out with white. Mr. Robinson, the Chaplain, appears to draw very numerous and attentive congregations both in the mornings and evenings; the latter particularly, which is a voluntary attendance, shewed as many soldiers nearly as the morning's parade, and there appeared good reason to think not only that the talents and zeal of their able and amiable Minister produced the effect to be anticipated, but that he was well supported by the example and influence of Sir Charles Colville and others in authority. I was so fortunate as to prevail on Sir Charles Colville to rescind his order, restricting the soldiers from carrying the books of the station-library with them to their quarters, and trust that an essential good may thus be produced both to this and all the other cantonments of the Bombay army. And on the whole, though the state of my health prevented my either seeing or doing so much at Poonah as I had hoped to do, and, under other circumstances, might have done, I trust that the journey was not altogether useless to myself and others.

During the hours that illness confined me to my room, I had the advantage of reading the reports on the state of the Deckan by Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Chaplin, with a considerable volume of MS. documents, and was thus enabled, better than I otherwise

should have been, to acquire a knowledge of this new and important conquest. The country conquered from the Maharattas, with the exception of the principality of Saltara and some other smaller territories which still remain under their native sovereigns, is divided into several large districts, each under the management of a single officer, generally a military man, with the title of Collector, but exercising also the functions of Judge of Circuit and Magistrate, while over all these is the chief Commissioner, resident at Poonah, and having a Collector under him for that province, so as to be at liberty to attend to all the different districts, and bound to make an annual circuit through the greater part of them.

This simplicity of administration seems well suited to the circumstances of the country and the people, and two other very great, though incidental good effects arise from it, inasmuch as 1st, there is a greater number of subordinate but respectable and profitable situations open to the natives, than can be the case under the system followed in Bengal; and, secondly, the abuses which seem inseparable from the regular Adawlut courts of justice have not been introduced here, but offences are tried and questions of property decided, in the first instance, by native punchaets or juries assembled in the villages, and under the authority of the Potail or hereditary village chief, or, in graver and more difficult cases, by native pundits, stationed with handsome salaries at Poonah and other great towns, whose decisions may be confirmed or revised by the chief Commissioner. The advantages of this institution seem great; it is true, indeed, that many complaints are made of the listlessness, negligence, and delays of the native jurors or arbitrators, (for the punchaet system resembles the latter of these characters rather than the former,) but still the delay is, apparently, less than occurs under the Adawlut in our old provinces, while the reputation of the court, so far as integrity goes, is far better than that of the others. Eventually, too, these institutions thus preserved and strengthened may be of the greatest possible advantage to the country by increasing public spirit,

creating public opinion, and paving the way to the obtainment and profitable use of further political privileges.

The whole of the Deckan had, for some years back, suffered greatly by drought and a consequent scarcity, which, in the eastern districts, amounted, at this time, to absolute famine, with its dreadful attendant evils of pestilence and the weakening of all moral ties. These calamities were not so much felt in the neighbourhood and to the west of Poonah; and, every where, making due allowance for them, the country seemed to thrive under its present system of government. The burdens of the peasantry are said to be decidedly less in amount, and collected in a less oppressive manner, than under the old monarchy. The English name is, therefore, popular with all but those who are inevitably great losers by our coming,—the courtiers of the Peishwa, such of the trades as lived by the splendour of his court, and, probably, though this does not appear, of the Brahmins. The great body of the Maharatta people are a very peaceable and simple peasantry, of frugal habits, and gentle dispositions; there seems to be no district in India, of equal extent and population, where so few crimes are committed, and of the robberies and murders which really occur the greatest part by far are the work of the Bheels, who, on these mountains as well as in Central India, maintain a precarious and sanguinary independence, and are found less accessible to such means of conciliation as have yet been tried with them, than any of their more northern kindred.

The existence of private property in the soil seems generally admitted through these provinces, and, as I am assured, through the southern parts of the peninsula. The Potails, or head-men of the village, are hereditary; the same is the case with the barber, watchman, brahmin, &c. of each community, each of whom is endowed with his little glebe of land. The relation between the ryut and the Potail I could not clearly learn, but it seemed plain that the latter could not at will displace the former from his farm, and that in the event of his not paying the fees due to him-

self or the crown, he has no remedy but in a legal process. The share taken by Government appears to be high, at least one-fifth, and this is settled by an annual valuation. Government express themselves very desirous to bring about a permanent settlement, but say that till they have more knowledge as to the land itself, and its real proprietors, they should run a risk of doing greater injustice, and occasioning greater evils than any which they can reasonably apprehend under the present system.

The Deckan in its general character is a barren country, and the population evidently falls short of the average of Europe. In Europe there is no country of which it reminds me so much as Hungary, a region of which the fertility is generally overrated. Like Hungary great part of the Deckan might seem well adapted for vines, and it would be wise in Government to encourage their cultivation, if it were only to obtain a better beverage for their troops than the vile brandy which they now give them daily.

The Raja of Saltara is described as a well disposed young man of good understanding, whose system of Government, though he is now quite out of leading strings, is still happily influenced by the instruction and example which he received in his early youth from the then resident, Captain Grant. His country is peaceable, orderly, and as prosperous as can be expected under the calamitous dispensations of Providence, which have afflicted it as well as its neighbours. The Raja himself is said to be so ardent a professed lover of peace as almost to bring his sincerity into question, never failing to express wonder and horror at the conduct of all the more martial or quarrelsome sovereigns of India. The other petty sovereigns are supposed not to differ from the average of Hindoo governors. They are all poor and disposed to be turbulent, and it has been always one of the most delicate and necessary duties of the Commissioners of the Deckan to avoid giving them offence, and to interfere with them only just enough to preserve the general peace.

The climate of the Deckan is highly praised during the rainy

and cool seasons, and the hot winds are of no long duration. Its openness and height above the sea may be expected to render it salubrious. Candeish has been so much ruined during the years of trouble that a great part of it is jungle, with its usual plagues of Bheels, wild beasts, and fevers. The concans are fertile, but, generally speaking, hot and unhealthy. Severndroog, however, and its neighbouring station of Dapoolie, in the southern concan, being on an elevated part of the coast, enjoy a fine breeze, and have been fixed on as the site of a convalescent hospital for the European garrison of Bombay.

*July* 5.—Dr. Barnes and I left Poonah, as before, in our palanqueens, except that I rode through the city and for a few miles on our road, till the sun grew too hot. We passed the river by a deep ford immediately beyond the town, we ourselves in a boat and the horses swam over; and arrived at Candaulah, where we slept. The rain here was almost incessant, and seemed to have driven under the shelter of the post bungalow many animals which usually avoid the neighbourhood of man. We were on our guard against scorpions and centipedes, of which the tavern keeper told us that he had killed many within the last few days, but I was a little startled, while passing through a low door-way, to feel something unusual on my shoulder, and on turning my face round to see the head of a snake pointed towards my cheek. I shook him off, and he was killed by a servant. He was a small green one, mottled with a few black spots; some of those who saw him declared him to be very venomous, others denied it, and it unluckily did not occur to me to examine his fangs. Whatever were his powers of mischief, I had good reason to be thankful to Providence that he did not bite me; for, besides the necessity, under the uncertainty of his poisonous nature, of using painful remedies, I should have had to bear many hours suspense between life and death.

I rode down the Ghâts, the scenery of which I thought even more beautiful than I did when I ascended. The foliage struck

me more, and I was particularly pleased with a species of palm, resembling the sago-tree, which seems the hardiest of its genus, and is certainly one of the most beautiful. Its leaf is narrower than most other kinds, so as to give the branches at some distance something of the air of a weeping-willow, but it has also a splendid ornament in a pendent cluster of what I suppose to be seed-vessels, hanging like an enormous ear of corn, among the boughs. All the torrents, most of which had been dry when I passed before, were now full, and every chasm in the steep side of the mountains offered the prospect of a cascade. I saw here ten at one view.

I left my horse at Chowke, where we breakfasted, and had the good fortune to meet an agreeable young man of the name of Babington, many members of whose family I knew in England. Inns are, in every part of the world, the favourite scenes for romances, and the unexpected interviews in which romances abound; but I have often thought that a serai, or post-house in India, would have particular advantages in this way, both from the wild and romantic character of the places in which they stand, and the strange selection from all the liberal professions and half the respectable families in England, who may be, without improbability, supposed occasionally to meet under circumstances where to avoid each other would, even if it were wished, be altogether impossible.

We dined and slept at Panwellee, where we found a bunder boat and two cotton boats waiting our arrival; the boisterous south wind would not allow of our going direct to Bombay; and the serang said the tide would not serve for our sailing round by Tannah before four o'clock the next morning.

The evening we employed in walking about the little town, where I found some Mussulmans who spoke a little Hindoostanee, and a Parsee who spoke very good English. I also found some officers of one of the East India Company's ships, waiting with one of the boats of the vessel for the arrival of their Captain from Poonah. They told me of the very stormy weather which had

occurred since my leaving Bombay, during which a brig of war in the service of the Imâm of Muscat had been cast away, and one of the English vessels which had left the port at the time of my departure, had been driven back in great peril and distress. The Arab captain of the Imâm's brig I had met at breakfast with Mr. Elphinstone, and was sincerely sorry for his misfortune. Both he and his crew were providentially saved. He was a keen, lively little man, who spoke English well, and apparently affected English manners, though I saw no traces about him of that coarseness and swearing which too many of the people of this country suppose to be characteristic of Englishmen. He had taken much pains with himself, and bore the reputation of a very tolerable sailor. The misfortune which had now overtaken him was not attributed to ignorance, or any thing but the unusual violence of the weather. It was likely, however, to be very injurious to his success in life, not only from the actual loss of his own property on board the ship, but from the prejudice felt by Mussulmans against trusting those who have once shewn themselves unlucky.

At the appointed hour in the morning of the 7th we embarked on the Panwellee river, with a strong adverse gale, and heavy showers. The tide carried us down to the mouth of the river, and considerably favoured our egress. We had, however, a severe struggle after entering into the northern branch of the Bombay harbour, got wet through and through, and our boat filled so fast with the seas which broke over us, that two of the crew were continually engaged in baleing. This continued till, after many short tacks, we cleared the point which divides the branch in which we were tossing from the strait leading to Tannah. Along this last we went with a fair wind, and arrived safe at Tannah, from whence I returned to Pareil.

On the Saturday following (*July* 10,) I went to Mr. Baillie's, the senior Judge at Tannah, to be ready to celebrate the consecration of the new church there the next day. The church, though small, is extremely elegant and convenient. The architect, Capt.

Tate, in order to secure the most advantageous view of the building, externally, with reference to the situation, and at the same time to observe the ancient ecclesiastical custom of placing the altar eastward, has contrived the chancel, a semicircle, on one side, like a little transept, the pulpit being in a corresponding semicircle opposite. The arrangement is extremely convenient, and the effect very pleasing[f].

Monday morning I returned to Pareil.

The remainder of my stay in Bombay was disagreeably and laboriously occupied in examining into the conduct and character of one of the Chaplains, a man of talent and eloquence, and with high pretensions to austere piety. The enquiry ended very unsatisfactorily; grievous charges were brought against him, and his manner of conducting his defence did his own character much disservice; still, as nothing of any great consequence was actually *proved* against him, I only wrote him a letter expressive of my feelings, but which was calculated to induce his brethren to hope the best concerning him, and not to conduct themselves towards him in a manner which would drive him from society, and cut off his chance of amendment, if guilty. This I did the day of my departure, and I trust I acted for the best.

My miscellaneous observations on Bombay have been deferred so long, that they will probably be very imperfect. The island[g], as well as most of those in its neighbourhood, is appa-

[f] The principal Protestant church in Bombay is within the Fort; it is a large and handsome building, with some tolerably good monuments; there is also a small temporary chapel at Matoonga, and a church, which the Bishop consecrated, has recently been built in the island of Colabah, where there are considerable cantonments. There is likewise a Presbyterian place of worship within the Fort. A regular weekly service has just been established on board one of the largest ships, for the time being, in the harbour, to accommodate those officers and men whose duties prevent their attending church. The first day the experiment was made, the Bishop preached on board the Windsor Castle. Mr. Mainwaring, the officiating chaplain in the church of Colabah, has also undertaken this harbour duty. Several Portuguese and Armenian churches, two or three synagogues, and many mosques and pagodas are scattered about in various parts of the island.—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*

[g] The island of Colabah is situated at the entrance of the harbour, and is connected with that of Bombay by a pier, which is, however, overflowed at high-water. Adjoining this pier are the

rently little more than a cluster of small detached rocks, which have been joined together by the gradual progress of coral reefs, aided by sand thrown up by the sea, and covered with the vegetable mould occasioned by the falling leaves of the sea-loving coco. The interior consists of a long but narrow tract of low ground, which has evidently been, in the first instance, a salt lagoon, gradually filled up by the progress which I have mentioned, and from which the high tides are still excluded only by artificial embankments. This tract is a perfect marsh during the rainy season, and in a state of high rice cultivation. The higher ground is mere rock and sand, but covered with coco and toddy-palms where they can grow [h]. There is scarcely any open or grass-land in the island, except the esplanade before the fort, and the exercising ground at Matoonga, which last is the head-quarters of

docks, which are large, and, I believe, the only considerable ones in India, where the tides do not often rise high enough to admit of their construction. Cotton is the principal article of export, great quantities of which come from the north-west of India, and I have frequently been interested in seeing the immense bales lying on the piers, and the ingenious screw with which an astonishing quantity is pressed into the canvass bags. Bombay is the port from whence almost all the trade of the west and north is shipped for China and England; there are several ships building in the slips, and the whole place has the appearance of being a flourishing commercial sea-port.

Pearls and turquoises are brought from the Persian gulph in great numbers, some of which are very valuable, and fine cornelians and agates also come from Surat.—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*

[h] The sea abounds in excellent fish. The bumbelow, very much resembling an eel in shape, is considered one of the best, and great quantities are annually dried for the Calcutta market: it appeared to me little better than a tasteless mass of jelly, and very inferior to most of the other kinds. Large sea-snakes are seen in numbers swimming on the surface of the water; and I was assured, that on the Malabar coast the sailors always know when they are within soundings by the appearance of these animals. Buffaloes are very common in the island, but their beef is not reckoned good, and their milk is poorer than that of the cow. There are no beasts of prey, except a few hyænas, which are seldom met with; nor are there many poisonous snakes or insects to be seen. The great variety and fine plumage of the smaller birds struck me very forcibly; and some of their notes, especially that of the nightingale, are very beautiful. The poultry is almost all brought from the coast, as well as most kinds of vegetables: indeed the island itself is much too small to feed its population; and, save onions, mangoes, the sweet potatoe, rice, dhâl, and a few other kinds of grain, it produces little but the varieties of the palm tribe.—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*

the artillery. The fort, or rather the fortified town, has many large and handsome houses, but few European residents, being hot, close built, with narrow streets, projecting upper stories and rows, in the style which is common all over this side of India, and of which the old houses in Chester give a sufficiently exact idea.

The Bombay houses are, externally, less beautiful than those of Calcutta, having no pillared verandahs, and being disfigured by huge and high pitched roofs of red tiles. They are generally speaking, however, larger, and on the whole better adapted to the climate.

We took our final leave of Bombay on the 15th of August, and embarked in the Discovery, commanded by Captain Brucks, of the Company's Marine. Mr. Elphinstone asked all the principal civil and military servants of the Company to breakfast on the occasion, in the Government-house in the fort, many of them accompanied us to the water's edge, and others went on board with us, among whom was Mr. Meriton, the superintendant of Marine, known by the desperate valour which he displayed on several occasions while commanding different East India ships. Mr. Robinson of Poonah, and Dr. Smith, accompanied me as chaplain and medical attendant.

Although we had long looked forward with eagerness to the moment when I should be at liberty to resume a journey which was to take us to Calcutta, and to unite us all, once more together, we could not leave Bombay without regret. There were some persons whom we were sincerely pained to part with there. We had met with much and marked kindness and hospitality, we had enjoyed the society of several men of distinguished talent, and all my views for the regulation and advantage of the Clergy, and for the gradual advancement of Christianity, had met with a support beyond my hopes, and unequalled in any other part of India.

I had found old acquaintances in Sir Edward West and Sir Charles Chambers, and an old and valuable friend (as well as a

sincerely attached and cordial one) in Archdeacon Barnes. Above all, however, I had enjoyed in the unremitting kindness, the splendid hospitality, and agreeable conversation of Mr. Elphinstone; the greatest pleasure of the kind which I have ever enjoyed either in India or Europe.

Mr. Elphinstone is, in every respect, an extraordinary man, possessing great activity of body and mind, remarkable talent for, and application to public business, a love of literature, and a degree of almost universal information, such as I have met with in no other person similarly situated, and manners and conversation of the most amiable and interesting character. While he has seen more of India and the adjoining countries than any man now living, and has been engaged in active political, and sometimes military, duties since the age of eighteen, he has found time not only to cultivate the languages of Hindostan and Persia, but to preserve and extend his acquaintance with the Greek and Latin classics, with the French and Italian, with all the elder and more distinguished English writers, and with the current and popular literature of the day, both in poetry, history, politics, and political economy. With these remarkable accomplishments, and notwithstanding a temperance amounting to rigid abstinence, he is fond of society, and it is a common subject of surprise with his friends, at what hours of the day or night he finds time for the acquisition of knowledge. His policy, so far as India is concerned, appeared to me peculiarly wise and liberal, and he is evidently attached to, and thinks well of the country and its inhabitants. His public measures, in their general tendency, evince a steady wish to improve their present condition. No government in India pays so much attention to schools and public institutions for education. In none are the taxes lighter, and in the administration of justice to the natives in their own languages, in the establishment of punchaets, in the degree in which he employs the natives in official situations, and the countenance and familiarity which he extends to all the natives of rank who approach him, he seems to have reduced to practice,

almost all the reforms which had struck me as most required in the system of government pursued in those provinces of our Eastern Empire which I had previously visited. His popularity (though to such a feeling there may be individual exceptions) appears little less remarkable than his talents and acquirements, and I was struck by the remark I once heard, that " all other public men had their enemies and their friends, their admirers and their aspersors, but that of Mr. Elphinstone, every body spoke highly." Of his munificence, for his liberality amounts to this, I had heard much, and knew some instances myself.

With regard to the free press, I was curious to know the motives or apprehensions which induced Mr. Elphinstone to be so decidedly opposed to it in this country. In discussing the topic he was always open and candid, acknowledged that the dangers ascribed to a free press in India had been exaggerated,—but spoke of the exceeding inconvenience, and even danger which arose from the disunion and dissension which political discussion produced among the European officers at the different stations, the embarrassment occasioned to Government by the exposure and canvass of all their measures by the Lentuli and Gracchi of a newspaper, and his preference of decided and vigorous, to half measures, where any restrictive measures at all were necessary. I confess that his opinion and experience are the strongest presumptions which I have yet met with in favour of the censorship.

A charge has been brought against Mr. Elphinstone by the indiscreet zeal of an amiable, but not well-judging man, the " field officer of cavalry," who published his Indian travels, that " he is devoid of religion, and blinded to all spiritual truth." I can only say that I saw no reason to think so. On the contrary, after this character which I had read of him, I was most agreeably surprised to find that his conduct and conversation, so far as I could learn, had been always moral and decorous, that he was regular in his attendance on public worship, and not only well informed on religious topics, but well pleased and forward to

discuss them; that his views appeared to me, on all essential subjects, doctrinally correct, and his feelings serious and reverential; and that he was not only inclined to do, but actually did more for the encouragement of Christianity, and the suppression or diminution of suttees than any other Indian Governor has ventured on. That he may have differed in some respects from the peculiar views of the author in question, I can easily believe, though he could hardly know himself in what this difference consisted, since I am assured, that he had taken his opinion at second hand, and not from any thing which Mr. Elphinstone had either said or done. But I have been unable to refrain from giving this slight and imperfect account of the character of Mr. Elphinstone as it appeared to me, since I should be sorry to have it thought that one of the ablest and most amiable men I ever met with, were either a profligate or an unbeliever.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN CEYLON.

Early on the morning of the 25th of *August* we cast anchor outside the harbour of Galle, but the directions given in the Government chart for anchoring during this monsoon, proved so incorrect, that when the pilot came on board he found the vessel in a very dangerous situation, lying so close upon rocks, that, as the wind was blowing hard, he could not venture to weigh anchor, lest she should drive on them; he was obliged, therefore, to warp her off, which occupied the whole of the morning, a miserable one to me, for the sea ran very high, and the ship tossed and rolled unceasingly. Mr. Glenie, the senior Colonial Chaplain; Mr. Layard, the Judge of Galle; Mr. Mayor, one of the Church Missionaries, and the Master Attendant of Galle, came on board to meet us; and, about three o'clock, the vessel was got safe into harbour. The fort fired a salute, which the Discovery returned, and we were met on the pier by the principal inhabitants of the place, the regiment stationed there, and a band of spearmen and lascarines. The pier was covered with white cloth, and we passed between two files of soldiers to the place where palanqueens, &c. were waiting; in which, preceded by native music, a constant

attendant on all processions, we went two miles to the cutcherry, where we were invited, and most kindly and hospitably entertained, by Mr. Sansoni, the collector of the district.

Point de Galle is situated at nearly the southern extremity of Ceylon, and its harbour is very spacious and beautiful, being formed in part by rocks, over which the sea foams and dashes in a glorious manner; it has not more than two or three ships, and a few small craft, within it at present. One of the former is an Arab which left Calcutta for Bombay, a few days before I sailed, early in March; out of pure cowardice the captain put in here, where he has remained ever since, and will not move till the strength of the monsoon is over. Homeward bound ships occasionally touch at this port, and one East Indiaman regularly comes every year to carry off the cinnamon prepared for exportation.

A very few English and Dutch families form the society of the place, and they reside principally within the fort; the "pettah," or native town, is extensive, and the houses neat. At present it has a very gay appearance, from being ornamented in the Cingalese manner, in honour of the Bishop's arrival, with palm-branches, flowers, and fruits, in which kind of decoration the natives are very ingenious, and which gives the whole village the appearance of a jubilee. Mr. Sansoni's is a lower-roomed house, but very spacious and comfortable, commanding a view of the harbour. He is an Italian by birth, but is become quite Anglicised by a long residence in the island.

The Cingalese on the coast differ very much from any Indians I have yet seen, and their language, also, is different; they wear no turban, or other kind of covering, on the head, but turn up their long black hair with large tortoise-shell combs; the coolies and labouring-classes have merely the waist-cloth, as in Bengal; but the "Moodeliers," or native magistrates, head-men as they are generally called, wear a strange mixture of the Portuguese and native dress, but handsome, from the gold with which it is covered. The Moodelier of Galle, and all his family, are Christians; he is a most

respectable man, in face and figure resembling Louis XVIII. to whom his sons also bear a strong likeness: the old man wears a handsome gold medal, given him for meritorious conduct.

*August* 26.—The heat is said to be never very oppressive at Galle, being constantly tempered by sea-breezes, and by frequent rain; the total absence of punkahs, indeed, proves the climate to be moderate. The fort was built by the Dutch, and is a good deal out of repair. We dined to-day at Mr. Layard's, who has an excellent house within its walls; we went in our palanqueens, and instead of the lanterns to which we had been accustomed in Calcutta and Bombay, were preceded by men carrying long palm-branches on fire; the appearance of these natural torches was picturesque, and their smell not unpleasant; but the sparks and flakes of fire which they scattered about were very disagreeable, and frequently were blown into my palanqueen, to the great danger of my muslin dress: they are never used within the fort.

*August* 27.—Our original plan of going from hence to Baddagame, a Church-missionary station, about thirteen miles from Galle, where there is a church to be consecrated, has been frustrated by the heavy rains which have lately fallen, and which have swollen the river so much as to make the journey impracticable; we therefore decided on remaining over Sunday here, and we sent off the greatest part of our servants, baggage, &c. to Colombo, a distance of seventy-two miles.

The Bishop was occupied all the morning in ecclesiastical affairs. There is neither Chaplain nor resident Church Missionary here, but Mr. Mayor and Mr. Ward occasionally come from Baddagame to do the duty, and the former remained here a month previous to our arrival, to prepare the young people for confirmation. The Wesleyan Society has a Missionary, who sometimes does duty in the church. Mrs. Gisborne has a school about a mile from the cutcherry, of which we hear an excellent report: she is at present at Colombo, but when we return to embark for Calcutta we hope to visit it with her.

*August* 28.—The Bishop confirmed about thirty persons, of whom the greater proportion were natives; some of the Moodelier's family were among the number, but the rest were principally scholars from Mrs. Gisborne's school. He afterwards preached. The church was built by the Dutch, and, according to their custom, is without a communion-table, and for the most part open. It is kept neatly, but is a good deal out of repair. The native part of the congregation was numerous, and paid great attention to the ceremony, though many were there out of curiosity alone. Mr. Robinson preached in the evening.

*August* 29.—This morning, at three o'clock, we were roused by beat of drum, to prepare for our march to Colombo; we formed a long cavalcade of palanqueens and gigs, preceded by an escort of spearmen, and the noisy inharmonious music I mentioned before, and attended by some of Mr. Sansoni's lascarines, who answer in some respects to our peons in Calcutta; they wear rather a pretty uniform of white, red, and black, and a conical red cap, with an upright white feather in it. Instead of the chattah used with us, these men carry large fans, made of the talipot-palm, which is peculiar to Ceylon, from six to nine feet in length, over the heads of Europeans and rich natives, to guard them from the sun. The road was decorated the whole way as for a festival, with long strips of palm-branches hung upon strings on either side, and wherever we stopt, we found the ground spread with white cloth, and awnings erected, beautifully decorated with flowers and fruits, and festooned with palm-branches. These remnants of the ancient custom mentioned in the Bible, of strewing the road with palm-branches and garments, are curious and interesting.

At day-break we crossed the first river in a boat with a decorated awning, and at the end of twenty miles, which was accomplished by the same set of bearers by ten o'clock, we arrived at one of the rest-houses, where we breakfasted, and remained during the heat of the day. These are built and kept up

by Government, for the accommodation of travellers, and are bungalows, merely consisting of three or four unfurnished rooms, with, possibly, some cane bedsteads, on which the palanqueen mattrasses are placed; here, as in India, every individual article wanted in marching, is carried with one, save tents, which on this line of road are supplied by these houses. The name of this place is Amblegodde; it is situated on a height commanding an extensive view of the sea, having a bold shore on either side, with two or three small fishing harbours, or rather creeks.

In a small bungalow, close to the sea, we found a splendid breakfast prepared for us by the Moodelier of Galle. We were met here by a set of dancers with grotesque masks, in dresses very much resembling those worn by the Otaheitan dancers, as represented in the prints of Captain Cook's voyages. When it grew cool we again set out, still carried by the same bearers, there being no means of laying a dâk here as in Bengal; these men, like the Madras bearers, make a sort of groaning noise every step they take, which is to a stranger very unpleasant; they go through all the sounds of the vowels alternately, hi, ho, hu,—he, hi, hu, and so on. Our road had hitherto lain through a continued wood of palm-trees, which from its uniformity would have been tedious, but for the flowering shrubs and underwood with which the ground was covered, and for the immediate neighbourhood of the sea breaking beautifully over large insulated masses of coral rock: the coast, as well as the country for some miles inland, is generally flat, and intersected by rivers and arms (or rather indents) of the sea. The population appears to consist exclusively of fishermen, and the houses bear a greater appearance of comfort than is usually seen in fishing villages in India. Sixteen miles further brought us to Ben Totte, where we dined and slept. This rest house is on the estuary of a broad river, but close to the sea, and the scenery about it is extremely beautiful. We had just time before night closed in to take some sketches of this lovely spot; but it was extremely difficult to make any thing like an accurate representation of its scenery.

Each river has its rest house on either side, which would seem to have been built before the regular ferries were established, when passengers had to wait, perhaps, many days for the floods to subside, which here are as sudden as they are frequent. With a little contrivance we managed to pass the night very comfortably either in palanqueens, or on their mattrasses placed on cane bedsteads. In this climate, in places where there are no mosquitoes, which happily is the case in this monsoon, very little preparation is required for a night's lodging. Emily makes a capital traveller, and really enjoys it as much as any of the party: a palanqueen is indeed by far the least fatiguing way in which a child can travel.

*August* 30.—At four this morning we were roused by the reveillé. Mr. Sansoni here took his leave, having very kindly accompanied us to the end of his district, to see that we wanted no comfort or accommodation: the Galle escort also left us, and we were met by spearmen, &c. &c. from Colombo; having crossed the river in a highly ornamented boat, we proceeded twelve miles along a road made more interesting by the mixture of timber-trees with the palm. The bread-fruit tree I here saw for the first time, growing to an immense size, and with gigantic leaves, shaped like those of the fig-tree; the jamba, or rose-apple, strewing the ground with its beautiful scarlet flowers; the banyan, and the cotton-tree, with many others, whose names I did not know.

The wild pine-apple grows in abundance; it is a shrub not of any great size, which throws out its branches into all kinds of fantastic shapes, bearing a fruit resembling a pine-apple, but pendant and without a crown; it is said to be poisonous; another shrub with a small leaf, whose name I forget, is valued by the natives on account of its emetic properties; the end of each twig is crowned by two white leaves, out of which a small and ugly flower springs.

Of flowers the Gloriosa Superba and the Amaryllis are the most beautiful, and grow in profusion; many others which I had been accustomed to see in hot-houses at home, weak and stunted,

here grow in splendid luxuriance; in places the trees appeared to stand on a carpet of flowers.

At Caltura is a small fort, built to defend the passage of the river in former times, and now occasionally inhabited by Mr. Rodney, one of the members of Government, on a hill which commands an extensive view of the sea, with a fine river running at its foot, now, like all the others, much swollen with the rain. Mr. Rodney drove us in his carriage from hence to Paltura, where, after crossing a fourth river, we were met by Sir Edward Barnes's carriage, drawn by four beautiful English horses, which took us, with a fresh relay, through the fort at Colombo, where the usual salute was fired, to St. Sebastian. Here we found a most comfortable house, provided and furnished by Government, on the borders of a large lake, but commanding a fine open view of the sea. This was the residence of the late Archdeacon Twistleton, whose death we have heard much lamented; it is reckoned one of the healthiest spots in the island, always enjoying a fine breeze from the sea. In the evening we dined at the "king's house," that being the name given to the residence of the Governor in this colony. We were most kindly received by Sir Edward and Lady Barnes, and met a small and agreeable party, but I was much tired, and glad to go home early. The house is a bad one, in the centre of the fort, but every thing is conducted on a handsome and liberal scale by the Governor.

*August* 31.—Our morning was, as usual on a first arrival, taken up by visits; in the afternoon we drove in Sir E. Barnes's sociable through the far-famed cinnamon gardens, which cover upwards of 17,000 acres of land on the coast, the largest of which are near Colombo. The plant thrives best in a poor sandy soil in a damp atmosphere; it grows wild in the woods to the size of a large apple-tree, but when cultivated is never allowed to grow more than ten or twelve feet in height, each plant standing separate. The leaf is something like that of the laurel in shape, but of a lighter colour; when it first shoots out it is red, and

changes gradually to green. It is now out of blossom, but I am told that the flower is white, and appears when in full blossom to cover the garden. After hearing so much of the spicy gales from this island, I was much disappointed at not being able to discover any scent, at least, from the plants, in passing through the gardens; there is a very fragrant-smelling flower growing under them, which at first led us into a belief that we smelt the cinnamon, but we were soon undeceived. On pulling off a leaf or a twig you perceive the spicy odour very strongly, but I was surprised to hear that the flower has little or none. As cinnamon forms the only considerable export of Ceylon, it is of course preserved with great care; by the old Dutch law, the penalty for cutting a branch was no less than the loss of a hand; at present a fine expiates the same offence. The neighbourhood of Colombo is particularly favourable to its growth, being well sheltered, with a high equable temperature; and as showers fall very frequently, though a whole day's heavy rain is uncommon, the ground is never parched.

The pearl fishery was at one time very productive, but some years ago it entirely failed, and though it has lately been resumed, the success has been small. Ceylon, partly from its superabundant fertility, which will scarcely allow of the growth of foreign plants, and partly from the indolence of the natives, is a very poor colony; the potatoe will not thrive at all, and it is only at Candy, a town about seventy miles in the interior, that any kind of European vegetable comes to perfection. The Governor has a basketfull sent down every morning from his garden there; the breadfruit is the best substitute for potatoes I have met with, but even this is extremely inferior. A plant, something between the turnip and the cabbage, called "nolkol," is good, but it is not indigenous, having been originally imported from the Cape.

I heard a gentleman say, with reference to the indolence of the natives, "give a man a coco-tree, and he will do nothing for his livelihood; he sleeps under its shade, or perhaps builds a hut of its branches, eats its nuts as they fall, drinks its juice, and smokes

his life away." Out of a numerous population, a small proportion are labourers; the system of forced labour, which we found established by the Dutch, still exists in some degree, and a man can hardly be expected to pay much attention to the culture of his field, when he is liable at any moment to be taken off to public works; in his own district he receives no payment for road-making, but when removed to a distance he has three fanams, or three halfpence per day. The people are, however, lightly taxed, and the general aspect of their houses would indicate more comfort and attention to appearances, than all I had heard of them had led me to expect.

There is one custom here which I have not seen elsewhere, which struck me as remarkably humane; at certain distances along the road large pots of water, with ladles attached to them, are placed for the use of travellers, and I have frequently seen one of my bearers take a draught with great eagerness, and then run to join his comrades at my palanqueen.

We dined again at the king's house, and met nearly all the European society of the place. The colour of the natives excepted, every thing wears a more English aspect than we have been accustomed to in India, (the residents make a distinction between the island and the continent, not allowing the former to be India.) Where coachmen are kept, they are invariably Europeans, who do not appear to suffer from the sun; the Cingalese have not the slightest idea of driving, and know very little about a horse, and the "horse-keeper," as the saees is here called, as well as in Bombay, is invariably from the coast. Those persons who have not European coachmen have the horses of their palanqueen-carriages and "bandies," or gigs, led by these men, and the pace at which they run is surprising. Gigs and hackeries all go here by the generic name of bandy. The Calcutta caranchie, and the Bombay shigrum po, are alike unknown. The regiment doing duty in the fort is European, and the white sentries assist materially in giving the place an European look.

*September* 1.—The Bishop held his Visitation, which was

attended by all the colonial Chaplains and Church-Missionaries in the island, the latter of whom were assembled at Cotta for their annual meeting, with the exception of Mr. Mayor, who was detained at Baddagame by a severe fever, caught on his way down to meet us at Galle. I think there are few sights more impressive than that of a Bishop addressing his clergy from the altar; and on this occasion it was rendered peculiarly interesting by there being two regularly ordained native priests among the number, Mr. de Sarum, and Christian David, both Colonial Chaplains; the former has had an English education, and was entered, I believe, at Cambridge; he married a young woman, who came out with him, and who shews her good taste and good judgement in living on the best terms with his family, who are very respectable people, of the first rank in the island. The clergy dined with us in the evening.

*September* 2.—We were again all morning engaged with visitors. In the evening, Lady Barnes having lent me her fine English horse, we rode through a considerable part of the gardens. These are so extensive, and the roads cut through them so precisely alike, that we completely lost our way, and did not get home till late. There is neither horse, carriage, palanqueen, or bearer to be hired; but we do not feel the want, between the exertions used by our friends, Mr. Glenie, now the acting archdeacon, and Mr. Layard, recently appointed collector of this district, to procure us bearers in travelling, and the liberality with which Sir Edward Barnes allows us the use of his horses, carriages, and body-guard. He has a magnificent stud of English horses; they look well, but are apt to die of inflammatory attacks: he lost one very fine one while we were in the island. There are none reared in Ceylon, but those in general use come from the islands in the neighbourhood of Jaffna, which afford the best pasture both for horses and cattle. The former are under the superintendance of an officer, and when old enough are disposed of by Government. Those I have seen are pretty, but slight; the oxen too are small; but beef is the most plentiful as well as the best meat in Ceylon.

Mr. Walbeoffe, the manager of the cinnamon gardens, good-naturedly sent some of the cinnamon peelers to our bungalows, that we might see the way in which the spice is prepared. They brought with them branches of about three feet in length, of which they scraped off the rough bark with knives, and then with a peculiar-shaped instrument, stripped off the inner rind in long slips; these are tied up in bundles, and put to dry in the sun, and the wood is sold for fuel. In the regular preparation, however, the outer bark is not scraped off; but the process of fermentation which the strips undergo when tied up in large quantities, removes the coarse parts. The peelers are called "Chaliers;" they are a distinct caste, whose origin is uncertain, though they are generally supposed to be descended from a tribe of weavers, who settled in Ceylon, from the Continent, about six hundred years ago; in the interior they now pursue their original occupation, but those in the maritime provinces are exclusively employed in peeling cinnamon. They earn a great deal of money during the season; but their caste is considered very low, and it would be a degradation for any other to follow the same business.

*September* 3.—This morning we went to the king's house, where we spent a couple of hours very agreeably. The Bishop has been much engaged since our arrival in preparing a plan, which he discussed to-day with Sir E. Barnes, for restoring the schools, and the system of religious instruction which we found established by the Dutch, and of uniting it more closely with the Church of England. At a very small annual expense, this plan would, he thinks, be the means of spreading, not merely a nominal, but real Christianity through the island. There is also another object which he has, if possible, still more at heart, which is giving the native "proponents," or catechists, such facilities for education as would gradually fit them for admittance into holy orders, and make them the ground-work of a parochial clergy;—he has been much pleased by the anxiety which they shew for the improvement of their scholars, but they have not the means of acquiring knowledge sufficient

to enable them to teach others, and are many of them ill informed, though very good men. Books are scarce in Cingalese and Tamul, and he is anxious to prevail on some of the colonial clergy to translate a few of the more popular works into these languages. In these and in various other suggestions which he has made to both chaplains and missionaries, he has, almost universally, met with the readiest concurrence; and he has often expressed to me the extreme gratification which he has derived since we have been here, from witnessing the exemplary conduct of the whole Church Establishment, and the readiness with which they have entered into his views. While he was conversing on these subjects with the Governor, Lady Barnes took me to see her museum, and I was much interested in looking over her collection of shells and other Ceylon curiosities.

*Sept.* 3.—The Bishop preached this morning at St. Thomas's; the church was very full, and as it has no punkas, the heat was great. It is a remarkably ugly inconvenient building; indeed, it was not originally intended as a church by the Dutch, and the colony is too poor to build another. There is a mural tablet in it to Bishop Middleton, who was here at two different periods.

*Sept.* 4.—All morning, as usual, the Bishop was occupied in discussing ecclesiastical matters with Mr. Robinson and Mr. Glenie, and I returned a few visits. In the evening we rode through the fort, and the principal streets of Colombo, as well as through the Pettah, or native town. The fort is on a peninsula, projecting into the sea, and is very extensive, surrounded with a broad deep ditch; near the glacis is the end of a large lake, which extends some miles into the interior, and which might, in case of necessity, be easily connected with the sea, so as completely to insulate the fort. In the middle of this lake is an island, called by the Dutch "Slave Island;" there are several pretty houses on it, and a regiment of sepoys is now stationed there; the town is handsome, and nearly divided into four parts by two broad streets; there are many Dutch houses, which may be distinguished from

those of the English by their glass windows, instead of venetians, for the Dutch seem to shut up their houses at all seasons; they have large verandahs to the south. The Pettah is very extensive and populous; the inhabitants, it is said, amount to between 50 and 60,000, of a very mixed race. We passed the Dutch and Portuguese churches, both pretty buildings, especially the former; the latter is dedicated to the Mater Dolorosa. The houses of the Europeans without the town are very beautifully situated, especially those near the sea; they are all, with one or two exceptions, lower-roomed houses, and built on the same plan as those of Bombay, having the same disadvantage of projecting low-roofed verandahs, which keep out the air. The floors are almost universally of brick, very unsightly, and disagreeable from the dust which they occasion, but this is unavoidable in an island where no chunam is made but by a most expensive process, from shells, and where the white ants immediately destroy timber. There seems to be little traffic carried on except in cinnamon and pepper; the coir rope is made in great quantities; indeed, the coco-nut tree, in its various productions of arrack, oil, &c. &c. seems to be the principal support of the natives. No muslins are manufactured, and only the common strong coarse cloth, woven by the natives, is wove in the island. Of this I had a good deal given me by some of the Malay inhabitants.

*September* 6.—Early this morning the Bishop went to Cotta, a church missionary station, about six miles from Colombo. Mr. Lambrick, whom I remember tutor, some years ago, in Lord Combermere's family, is at present sole missionary there, and performs the important duties of the station in a most exemplary manner; the number of inhabitants in the district is very great; there are eight schools in the village, containing near 200 children, of whom a few are girls, besides several in the adjoining hamlets; and he has two services every Sunday in English and Cingalese, as well as occasional weekly duty in the schools; there is no church.

The society sent out a press a few years ago, which is now in active use. Several Cingalese grammars and vocabularies, and some

tracts, have been printed in it, and Mr. Lambrick is now engaged in a translation of the Old Testament and the Gospels, part of which is printed. The language is not well suited to the dignity and simplicity of the Bible, as it is burdened with honorary affixes, used as well in the Buddhist religious books, as in the common intercourse of the natives with their superiors, and which have hitherto been admitted into our translations of the Scriptures. Such a word as "Wahanseghede" affixed to the names of the Divine Persons, is certainly very cumbersome; and Mr. Lambrick is anxious to be allowed to discontinue their common use in a revision of the translation of the Scriptures, in which he has been invited to join by the Colombo Auxiliary Bible Society.

While the Bishop was at Cotta, Mr. Lambrick read him an address in the name of all the missionaries, in which, besides giving him an account of their respective stations, they asked his advice on several important points, of which the principal related to prayer-meetings at each other's houses, and to the baptism of native children. He answered these questions generally at the time, and afterwards wrote them a letter, in which he entered more at length on the different subjects proposed [a].

*Colombo, Sept.* 13, 1825.

[a] My Reverend Brethren,

Having been consulted by you, and the other Clergy of this Archdeaconry, on the propriety of engaging with missionaries of other religious sects, in solemn conference on topics connected with your work among the heathen, such as are now statedly holden at Jaffna, and at this place, I have first to express my thankfulness to God for the brotherly and tolerant spirit which, since my arrival in the island, I have noticed among those, who, with less or greater differences of opinions, and discrepancies of doctrine and discipline, abundantly to be deplored, yet hold, as I am persuaded, the same faith in the cross, and shall be found, as I trust, in the last day, on the same Rock of Salvation. Nor am I less thankful to the Giver of all good things, for the affectionate and orderly spirit which I find in you, my brethren, and which has led you, voluntarily, to submit a question in which your hearts, as I have reason to believe, are much engaged, to the counsel of your Ordinary. May God continue and increase this mutual confidence between us, and conduct it, and all things else, to His glory, and our salvation!

The meeting in question has been described to me as a conference of ministers and missionaries, in a certain district, held in each other's house in rotation, attended by the ministers or missionaries themselves, their wives and families, and occasionally by devout laymen from their vicinity. These meetings are described as beginning and ending with prayer, led, indif-

On his return home he told me he had been particularly gratified by all which he had seen that morning. The station has been scarcely three years established.

ferently, by ministers of different sects, or by their lay friends, but not by the females, and as broken by hymns, in which all present join. The remainder of the time is occupied by a friendly meal together,—in the comparison, by the missionaries, of the different encouragements and obstacles which they meet with among the heathen, and in discussion of the best means by which their common work can be forwarded. It appears that this practice commenced at Jaffna, under circumstances which made it very desirable for the missionaries of the English Church, not only to live on friendly and courteous terms with the missionaries sent from America, but to profit by the experience and example of these missionaries in their manner of addressing the heathen. And it appears, also, that these conferences have been strictly private and domestic, and that there has been no interchange or confusion of the public or appropriate functions of the Christian ministry, between yourselves and the friends who, unhappily, differ from you in points of Church discipline. Under such circumstances it is probable, that, by God's blessing, many advantages may have arisen to you all from these conferences; and, without enquiring whether these advantages might have been, in the first instance, attainable, in a manner less liable to inconvenience or misrepresentation, I am happy that I do not think it necessary to advise their cessation, now they are established, and that your dereliction of them might greatly interrupt the charitable terms on which you now live with your neighbours.

There are, however, some serious dangers to which such meetings are liable, against which it is my duty to caution you, and by avoiding which you may keep your intercourse with your fellow-labourers, as now, always harmless and unblamed. The first of these is the risk of levelling, in the eyes of others, and even in your own, the peculiar claims to attention on the part of men, and the peculiar hopes of grace and blessing from the Most High, which, as we believe, are possessed by the holders of an apostolic commission over those whose call to the ministry is less regular, though their labours are no less sincere. God forbid, my brethren, that I should teach you to think on this account highly of yourselves! Far otherwise. This sense of the advantages which we enjoy should humble us to the dust, when we bethink us who we are, and what we ought to be, who have received the Spirit of God, by the dispensation of a long line of saints and martyrs,—who are called to follow the steps of Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Rowland Taylor, and Henry Martyn; and who are, by the external dispensation, at least, of Providence, the inheritors of that grace which fell on St. Paul. But humbly, yea meanly, as we are bound to think of ourselves, we must not appear to undervalue our apostolic bond of union; and the more so here in India, inasmuch as it is the great link which binds us to the ancient Syrian Church, and one principal means whereby we hope, with the blessing of our Master, to effect its gradual reformation. The neglect, or abandonment, or apparent abandonment, of this principle, is the first danger which I apprehend to be incidental to such meetings as I have described. To guard against it, an additional care and caution will be desirable, in your steady adherence, wherever this is practicable, to the external ceremonies and canonical observations of our Church; and, without estranging yourselves from your dissenting friends, by cultivating a yet closer union with those who are, properly speaking, your brother clergy.

*September* 11.—The Bishop preached at St. Thomas's on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but more

With this view I would recommend not only the measures which I have lately suggested, of frequent meetings of the clergy of this Archdeaconry for the purposes of mutual counsel and comfort, but a readiness on your part, who are Missionaries, to officiate, whenever you are invited, and can do it without neglect of your peculiar functions, in the churches of the colony, and in rendering assistance to the Chaplains. By this occasional attention, (for, for many reasons, I would have it occasional only,) to the spiritual wants of your own countrymen, several important ends will be obtained; you will yourselves derive advantage from keeping up the habit of English composition and public speaking; you will endear yourselves to your brethren and countrymen by the services which you will render them, and above all you will identify yourselves in the eyes of all men with the Established Church, and distinguish yourselves from those other preachers whom that Church cannot consistently recognize.

Another precaution which occurs to me as desirable against the risk to which I have alluded, is that it be perfectly understood that the meetings are for the discussion of such topics only, as belong to your distinct functions as missionaries to the heathen. For this reason I would recommend that the meeting be confined to missionaries only, with their families, and such devout laymen (for I am unwilling to damp, or seem to discountenance, their laudable zeal) who have already joined themselves to your number. The other Clergy of the Archdeaconry will find, I conceive, a sufficient bond of union and source of mutual comfort and advice in the *clerical meeting*. There are other inconveniences and improprieties incidental to what are usually called prayer-meetings, which have led to their rejection by the great majority of the Church of England, and among the rest, by some excellent men, whom the conduct pursued by those with whom their chief intimacy lay, would have naturally inclined to favour them. I mean, among others, the late Mr. Scott of Aston Sandford, and the late Mr. Robinson of St. Mary's, Leicester. Such is the practice reprobated by the Apostle, of a number of persons coming together, with each his psalm, his prayer, his exhortation; the effect of which is, not only, often confusion, but what is worse than confusion, self-conceit and rivalry, each labouring to excel his brother in the choice of his expressions and the outward earnestness of his address—and the bad effects of emulation mixing with actions, in which of all others, humility and forgetfulness of self are necessary. Such, too, is that warmth of feeling and language, derived rather from imitation than conviction, which under the circumstances which I have mentioned, are apt to degenerate into enthusiastic excitement or irreverent familiarity.

And though it is only due both to yourselves, my brethren, and to your dissenting fellow-labourers, to state that all which I have seen or heard of you sets me at ease on these subjects, so far as you are concerned, yet it will be well for you to take care, lest by setting an example of such an institution in your own persons, you encourage less instructed individuals among the laity to adopt a practice which, in their case, has almost always, I believe, been injurious. It is on this account, chiefly, that with no feelings of disrespect or suspicion towards the excellent laymen who, as I understand, have joined your society, I would recommend, if my counsel has any weight, (and I offer it as my counsel only) that, though there is no impropriety in their taking their turns in reading the Scriptures, and mingling in the discussions which arise on the

particularly with reference to the Bishop's College at Calcutta; previous to this he went to hear the Tamul service in the Portu-

subjects connected with your conference, they would abstain from leading the society in prayer, except when the meeting is held in one of their own houses, and when, as master of the family, they may consistently offer up what will then be their *family devotion.*

I would, lastly, recommend to you earnestly, that both your discussions and your prayers have, as their leading object, the success of missions, and the means whereby missions may, with God's blessing, be rendered successful; and that you would deviate as little as possible into other fields of ecclesiastical enquiry.

With these precautions, I trust that unmingled good may, through His blessing who is the God of peace and order, emanate from your religious conferences.

With reference to the employment of laymen to officiate in your congregation, I would say that where a missionary is as yet unable to read prayers, or preach in the language of his hearers, he may unquestionably employ a native assistant to do both, provided the prayers are those of our Church, and the discourse a translation from his own dictation or writing. The use of interpreters is not only sanctioned by the necessity of the case, but by the express authority of Scripture and Ecclesiastical History. And even where this necessity has not existed, but where any convenience has been obtained either by priest or people, it has been always the custom of the Church to admit lay-catechists (under the direction of the Minister) to read the Scriptures, to give out Psalms, to repeat the Creeds, and even when any convenience results from it, the Litany down to the Lord's Prayer, and the following Collects which the Rubric assigns to the Priest. It is hardly necessary to observe, that, both in this and the preceding case, the Absolution must not be read, nor must the Sacraments be administered, by any but the regularly ordained Minister.

To your questions respecting Baptism, I reply,

1st, We are not, as I conceive, allowed to baptize the infant child of heathen parents when there is reason to fear that such child will be brought up in heathenism.

2nd, We may not even baptize the infant child of heathen parents on the promise of such parents to procure for it a Christian education, unless security of some kind is actually given for its adoption, and removal from its parents' corrupt example, by its sponsor, or some other Christian.

3rd, We may, I apprehend, baptize the children of a Christian father by a heathen mother, though they are living together *unmarried*, provided the father declares his intention of giving his child a Christian education, and there are sufficient sponsors to add their promises to that of the parent. My reason for this decision is, that, as no professed Christian, however wicked his life, is beyond the outward means of grace, and the Lord may, for all we know, have still merciful purposes concerning him, so we cannot for the father's sin, exclude the child from that promise which is made to the children, and the children's children of believers. But where the mother is Christian, and not the father, it is doubtful whether she may have sufficient property in, or authority over her child, to ensure it a Christian bringing up. Nor is it a point on which the promise of a heathen father can be received as sufficient; its actual adoption, therefore, by some Christian friend or sponsor, must in this last case be stipulated for.

guese church, and I accompanied him, between the English services, to the Cingalese church, in both which he pronounced the

4th, The same principle appears to apply to cases when one only of a *married* couple is a professing Christian; though here some latitude of discretion may be allowed, in case of danger of death, of extreme maternal solicitude, of known good character on the believing mother's side, and the known probability that may exist, that her wishes, and the endeavours of the sponsors, will not be frustrated in her infant's education.

5th, The case of nominal Christians notoriously addicted to heathen practices, must depend, in part, on the nature and extent of the evil; and still more on the character and sufficiency of the sponsors. Mere idolatrous or superstitious habits in the parents, if not attended with open apostacy, cannot exclude the infant when properly vouched for from another quarter. The parent, however blinded and sinful, has not lost the external privileges of Christianity, and the infant cannot be deprived of a privilege which the parent has not forfeited.

6th, The same rule will apply yet more strongly to Christians of whom we know no further harm, than their ignorance and neglect of public worship.

7th, It will have been already seen that we have no right to refuse baptism to children actually adopted by Christians, provided those or other Christians become their securities.

8th, With regard to the case of children thus adopted when past the age of six years, and on the marks of conversion which may then be required in them, it appears that at this age a child who has not, from its earliest infancy, enjoyed a Christian education can seldom know much of Christianity. Such may be admitted as infants, with proper sponsors, and it may very often be desirable thus to admit them. It is not easy to fix an age at which infancy ceases, which must depend on intellect, opportunity, and many other considerations. In "subjects capace," conversion is doubtless required; and where capacity may be soon expected, it is generally desirable to wait. But in cases of sickness, or where any good or charitable end is answered by the immediate baptism of such children, and where, as before, sufficient securities are present, it appears that we are not warranted in denying them God's ordinance.

9th, The Church of Rome, though grievously corrupted, is nevertheless a part of the visible Church of Christ; we may not therefore repel the children of such parents from baptism, if they are vouched for by their sponsors in the words of our service; which it may be noticed are wisely so framed, as to contain nothing but those points on which all Christians are engaged. The direction at the end to teach our Church Catechism is a counsel from us to the sponsors, no engagement entered into by them. It follows, that we are not to refuse baptism to the children of Roman Catholic parents, with sufficient Protestant sponsors; I even doubt whether we are at liberty even with sponsors of their parents' sect.

But in all these questions I cannot forbear observing, that we may remark the wisdom of that primitive institution (which our Church has wisely retained) of godfathers and godmothers, as affording a way of receiving into the flock of Christ those children for whose education their own parents cannot satisfactorily answer. An ignorant or immoral father may be himself, for the present, irreclaimable; but we may always insist that the sureties whom he adduces should be competently informed, and of a life not openly immoral. And though the decay of discipline in our own country has grievously impaired the value of such sponsors, yet

benedicton in the respective languages. The Dutch church, in which the Cingalese service is performed, is very handsome internally as well as externally. The language is not a pleasant one; it is read in a recitative tone, and the use of the affixes which I have mentioned, added to its being in itself a voluminous language, made the service extremely long. The congregation was not numerous: for some reason, the church had been shut up for a few weeks, and the notice given was too short to allow of a larger number being assembled. It was composed principally of the Moodeliers of Columbo, the children of a small school, some of the lower classes, and four or five very pretty girls, evidently of good families. Their dress in shape resembled that worn by the Portuguese Christians in Calcutta; but the petticoat and loose body were made of the finest muslin and silk, trimmed with lace, while their long black hair was turned up à la Grecque, and fastened with gold ornaments. The Ayahs who attended them had ornaments of similar shapes, but made of silver or tortoise-shell. These girls amused themselves, during the greater part of the service, by playing with their rings, and beckoning to their attendants either to talk to them, to re-arrange some part of their dress, or to pick up their rings when they fell, quite unchecked by a respectable old governante who was with them, and who, as well as the rest of the congregation, appeared very devout and attentive.

*September* 12.—The Bishop attended a meeting in Colombo, for the purpose of establishing a new committee of the Society for the

a missionary among the heathen both may and ought in this respect to exercise a sound discretion, both examining with mildness, informing with patience, and with firmness and temper deciding on the knowledge, faith, and holiness of those who themselves undertake to be the guides of the blind, and to sow the seeds of knowledge, holiness, and faith, in the hearts of the young candidates for salvation.

That God, my reverend brethren, may increase and strengthen you in these and all other gifts of his Spirit through his Son, and that both here and hereafter his blessings may largely follow your labours, is the prayer of

Your affectionate Friend and Servant,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

Propagation of the Gospel; and we afterwards dined at the king's house. Mr. Glenie has very kindly given us the use of a pretty little open carriage of his own invention, in which we make many excursions; we have also the daily use of the governor's saddle-horses, and Emily has a quiet poney for her riding.

*September* 12.—The Bishop held a confirmation, which was very numerously attended both by natives and Europeans; unfortunately, I was too unwell to attend it, or to join the clergy who dined with us afterwards; but he was much pleased with the number, appearance, and behaviour of the candidates; the Malay girls, in their long flowing white veils, formed a particularly interesting groupe, and they all seemed much impressed with the ceremony.

*Sept.* 14.—We set out at four o'clock this morning on an excursion to Candy, leaving Emily, by Dr. Farrel's advice, at St. Sebastian, (the name of our bungalow) the country through which we were to travel being at all times of the year rather unfavourable to delicate constitutions. Sir Edward Barnes drove the Bishop in his bandy, Mr. Robinson and I went in a palanqueen carriage, and we were accompanied by Captains Hamilton and Dawson, the Governor's aids-de-camp, Messrs. Glenie, Wilmot, and Layard, either in bandies or on horseback. About five miles from Colombo we crossed a bridge of boats over the river, which is here of some width; this bridge, as well as the various rest-houses and the whole line of road, was ornamented with palm-branches, fruit, flowers, &c. in the same manner as I have before described. The country, for about twenty-five miles, is flat and cultivated, but the parts immediately adjoining the road are covered with a mass of trees and shrubs, through which we could only have an occasional view; the richness of the verdure, the variety of foliage, and the brilliancy of flowers, however, amply made up for the want of a more extensive prospect. At a rest-house called Veangodde, we breakfasted,—it is an upper-roomed bungalow, with a deep verandah all round, and though merely composed of palm-branches and leaves, very sufficiently durable. Smaller bungalows were built round it for the accommodation of single

men. Here, for the first time since I left England, I saw honey in the comb; it is found in the forest in great abundance, and is made by a small black bee. The Moodelier of this district, Don Solomon Dias Benderlee, had exercised his ingenuity in ornamenting the large bungalow, as well as in erecting a square of four arches in the road before it, in a more elaborate manner than usual. The effect was really beautiful. The Bishop and I made some sketches, and as we wished to have a distant view of the place, a shed was actually built for us, and a road cut through the jungle to it, in less than half an hour. The celerity with which these palm buildings are erected is quite extraordinary; for our present purpose, it was merely a roof of leaves on four posts; but it is the custom in travelling to give notice to the different Moodeliers, whose business it is to have bungalows built, which answer extremely well for a temporary lodging, though of course in the rains they soon fall to pieces, so cheap is labour in this island, and so ingenious are the natives in such kinds of work. On leaving Veangodde, the country rises gradually, and becomes more and more beautiful every mile; the hills in the interior are steep and lofty, and covered with verdure to their very summits. I more than once fancied they were crowned with ruins, from the singular effect produced by parasitical plants, which grow in the wildest luxuriance, flinging their branches from one tree to another, each of which they in turn destroy, till they form themselves into the shapes of arches, towers, and ruins of all kinds; several of these creepers had, I observed, stretched a solitary branch a distance of about a hundred yards, which had grown to the size of a man's body, and assumed the appearance of twisted cords, but although near the ground, was quite unsupported in its progress from the stem of one tree to its neighbour. These plants add so much to the beauty of the scenery, that one easily forgives the destruction they occasion. From the midst of this verdure, large masses of rock are occasionally projected; but it is quite impossible to describe the scenery. I was occasionally reminded of the opening into the vale of Llangollen, and the new

road at Wynnstay; and I hardly knew to which to give the preference. Here, indeed, we miss the Dee, though there is a small river, now barely visible, which during the rains increases to a considerable size, and foams and tumbles over its rocky bed; but the extent of the same kind of country is much greater; the hills are higher, and the magnificence of the trees, and general beauty of the foliage and flowers, far surpass any thing in my native land. I looked in vain for a wild elephant; these animals are driven by the approach of man further into the interior, and seldom appear, except at night, when it is reckoned dangerous to travel without an escort and lights. Formerly there was an elephant hunt every year, when numbers were taken and purchased for purposes of state by the petty Rajas in western and central India; but since their power has ceased, the demand for them no longer exists, and their numbers increase so much as to be very destructive to the rice fields. Elephant shooting is a favourite amusement with the European inhabitants, and a good shot will bring one down with a single iron bullet. It is, however, dangerous to fire with one barrel only loaded, as should the animal be wounded it turns upon its pursuer; and, unless assistance is at hand, the consequences are generally fatal. In one instance of the sort, however, after the poor man had been tossed to some distance by the elephant's trunk, and had actually felt the pressure of its knee upon his body, some unknown cause induced it to change its mind, and it walked off, leaving the man but little hurt. An acquaintance of ours saved his life under similar circumstances, by dodging from one tree to another, till he was within reach of help, his own native servants, though with weapons in their hands, having ran away on seeing his danger. A herd is seldom formidable unless attacked; but it is very dangerous to fall in with an old male animal, living by himself. There are very few used in the island either for military purposes, or for riding, the expence of keeping them is so great; they are small, but are reckoned stronger and more hardy than those on the Continent, and are generally better tempered. The Cingalese, in-

deed, affect to say that their superiority is acknowledged by all other elephants, who salam to them as they pass.

The new road from Colombo to Candy has been recently opened by Sir E. Barnes, and indeed is not yet quite completed. It is a noble work, and has been executed with immense labour, as well from the nature of the country, as the almost impenetrable jungle through which it passes. Captain Dawson was three months in tracing the line, and frequently gave up the work in despair;—he had often to creep along the beds of torrents, to enable him to make any progress through the mass of underwood with which the mountains are covered. The country is very unhealthy, and during the greater part of the year it is reckoned unsafe even to travel through it. Before the road was opened, it was a work of six or seven days to go from Colombo to Candy; it may now be done with ease, having relays of horses, in one, and the danger of sleeping by the way is avoided. The old road lay through the seven Corles, a distance of eighty-five miles, through a tract more open, but far more unhealthy. It is singular that it is not where the jungle is thickest that malaria most prevails, but the banks of rivers running swift and clear over a rocky bottom, are more liable to fever than any other places. In a valley, near the road side, I saw a Cobra Guana; it is an animal of the lizard kind, with a very long tail, so closely resembling an alligator, that I at first mistook it for one, and was surprised to see a herd of buffaloes grazing peacefully round it. It is perfectly harmless, but if attacked will give a man a severe blow with its tail. Sir Edward Barnes told me that its flesh is reckoned a delicacy in the West Indies.

At Warakapole, about half way from Colombo, we were met by a very extraordinary personage, the second Adigar of Candy, followed by a numerous retinue, and preceded by one man carrying a crooked silver rod, and by another with a long whip, which he cracked at times with great vehemence: this is considered a mark of dignity among the Candians. There are two "Adigars," or ministers, the first of whom is entitled to have nine, and the second

seven, of these whips cracked before him whenever he goes out; but since our conquest of their province their dignity has diminished, and they can no longer afford so many noisy attributes of rank. This man was very handsomely dressed, but his costume certainly the most extraordinary I ever saw; his turban, for here men begin to cover their heads, was richly ornamented with gold, intended to resemble a crown, but far more like an old toilette pincushion, a white muslin body, with immense sleeves, like wings, ornamented with gold buttons, a drapery of gold-flowered muslin, a broad gold band round his waist, and, as rank is here marked by the quantity as well as quality of their dress, he wore the finest muslin, swelled out round the hips by six or seven topettees, put on one above the other, which increased them to an immense circumference, while his hands were covered with rings of rubies, set in a circle of more than two inches in diameter. Sir Edward Barnes and the Bishop got out to meet him, and shake him by both hands, and the former then brought him to me for the same ceremony. He was carried in a dhoolie, richly ornamented, and followed us to Ootian Candy, where we dined and slept.

For the latter part of the way we had to ascend a steep hill amid mountain scenery of great magnificence; the rocks on the summits of the highest had all the appearance of fortresses, and the deception was, in one instance, singularly heightened by the circumstance of one of the creepers I mentioned having thrown itself across a chasm just below the walls of the imaginary fortress, like a draw-bridge. The valleys between the hills are cultivated with rice; and indeed it is in these mountainous regions, I am told, that the greatest quantity is grown, on account of the facilities they afford for irrigation. The fields in which it is sown are dammed up, and form a succession of terraces, the plant in each, perhaps, being in a different stage of growth. Sometimes the water is conveyed for a mile or two along the side of a mountain, and it is let off from one terrace to another, as the state of the grain requires it. The verdure of the young rice is particularly fine, and the fields are really

a beautiful sight when surrounded by and contrasted with the magnificent mountain scenery. The island, however, does not produce rice enough for its own consumption, and a good deal is annually imported from Bengal.

I have observed that all the bridges on this road which are finished, are covered over, and furnished with benches, forming a kind of serai for the foot passenger; a most humane plan in such a country as this.

At Ootian Candy we found several bungalows just built; that allotted to us consisted of three good-sized rooms, verandahd all round, but the night was hot, and we got little sleep.

*September* 15.—The carriages and horses having been sent on to cross the river on rafts, we followed at a very early hour in palanqueens, and after passing it, mounted our horses to ride up a long and steep pass. The road, which must have been constructed with immense labour, winds up the side of a mountain covered with thick jungle and magnificent forest trees; among the latter, the ebony-tree, the iron and the thief-trees were pointed out to us; the former with a tall, black, slender stem spotted with white; the iron-tree black and hard, as its name denotes; and the last, rising with a straight white stem to a great height, singularly contrasted with the deep verdure round it: it bears no branches till the very top, when it throws out a few irregular stag-shaped boughs. A great deal of the furniture in Ceylon is made of ebony, as well as of the calamander tree, a few of which were pointed out to us, but which is become scarce from the improvident use formerly made of it. The thief-tree is good for nothing but fuel. There were many other varieties, but their native names have escaped my memory. These woods swarm with monkeys of every sort, which we saw and heard in all directions. A small black monkey, a larger one, with a white face, and a very small and pretty white one, are the most common.

From this part of the road, Adam's Peak, lying to the east, is visible; it is the highest mountain in Ceylon, about 8000 feet above

the level of the sea, and has seldom been ascended, not so much from its height as from the difficulty of the latter part of the ascent, which is quite perpendicular; two ladies, however, have been among the few adventurers, and got up by means of chains and pullies. The Mussulmans have a tradition that Adam, when driven out of Paradise, alighted upon the Peak, and a mark, which bears a resemblance to a human foot, is supposed to be the impression made by him while expiating his crime, by standing on one foot till his sins were forgiven.

About two-thirds of the way up this pass, called Kadooganarvon, we breakfasted in a spot of singular and romantic beauty, of which I endeavoured to convey some idea in a sketch, but it is scenery to which only a very good oil painting can do justice. We were here met by other Candians, of inferior rank to the Adigar, as denoted by their inferior number of petticoats, but with the same sort of costume; one named Looko Banda was on horseback, and accompanied us the remaining part of the way; he was quite an eastern dandy, rode well, and was, evidently, proud of his horsemanship, but his flowing garments were ill adapted for riding. In the days of the Kings of Candy, horses were an appendage to royalty, and none were found in their territories save in the royal stables. After breakfast we re-mounted, and proceeded to the top of the pass, from whence the view towards Candy was superb; but the sun had now been for some hours above the horizon, and we were glad to get into the shelter of our carriages. Three miles farther we again crossed a river in boats; the scenery in this valley had lost much of its magnificent character, but it was very pretty, dry, comparatively free from jungle, and cultivated, the river running over a bed of rock, and yet it is one of the most deadly spots in the neighbourhood during the unhealthy season. Near this place are the botanical gardens, which we hope to see on our return. On the opposite bank we were met by the first Adigar in great splendour, preceded by the silver rod, two men cracking their whips, and followed by a suwarree of elephants, music and dancers; one of the elephants

was kept at a distance, being mad, as they termed it, meaning that he would immediately attack his companions if suffered to come near them.

A distance of three miles brought us to Candy, surrounded by woody hills, some two thousand feet high. The town is larger than I expected, the streets broad and handsome, though at present only formed by native houses. On this occasion they were lined with plaintain-trees, bearing fruit, and decorated with flags and flowers, which gave the town a very gay appearance. We were met at its entrance by the principal European inhabitants, and drove up to a small cluster of bungalows, dignified by the name of the "Pavilion," being the residence of the Governor. The principal of these buildings is a remarkably pretty room of a circular form, connected with the others by covered walks, now beautifully decorated with flowers of various sorts, especially that of the areka, a sweet-scented palm. We were here introduced to the officers of the station, and then went to the house of Mr. Sawers, the collector of the district, who had asked us to be his guests during our stay in Candy.

The town of Candy is reckoned healthy, as well as the country for about a mile round, beyond which the Europeans seldom extend their drives; the river Malavigonga almost surrounds it; and the malaria, as I have before observed, is peculiarly felt on the shores of rivers. I should think, however, that the great changes in the temperature must be unfriendly to many constitutions; and, indeed, I have since been told that pulmonary complaints are frequent. After an extremely hot day, the night was so cold as to make a good blanket, and sleeping with closed windows, very desirable, and even then I awoke chilly. The house we were in, a lower-roomed one, stands at the foot of a hill covered with jungle, in which I heard parrots, monkeys, and jungle fowl; it also abounds with the smaller beasts of prey, and Mr. Sawers told me, that the night before our arrival, he was awoke by some animal scratching at his door, which he supposed was a dog, but the track through his

garden in the morning proved it to have been a "cheta," or small leopard. The royal tyger is not found in the island, but bears, leopards, hyænas, jackalls, and tyger-cats, are numerous, besides elks, wild hogs, buffaloes, deer, &c. &c.; and near Jaffna, at the northern extremity, a large baboon is very common and fearless. An acquaintance of ours having, on one occasion, shot at a young one, the mother came boldly up and wrested the gun out of his hand without doing him any injury. The ouran-outang is unknown.

*September* 16.—We were visited by all the European society of the city, and by many of the Candian chiefs in their extraordinary state dresses; a drawing given me by Looko Banda, and done by himself, shewing a good deal of uncultivated genius, represents them in three different costumes, but even in the undress, preserving the same enormous circumference of hip, as on state occasions. The Bishop had a deputation of the Bhuddist priests to wait upon him, of various ages, and all dressed in long yellow robes, their sacred colour, with the right arm and shoulder bare, and their heads and eyebrows closely shaven. Not long ago, these holy men would not enter a room with a woman, or even look at her if they met by accident; now, however, they are not so scrupulous; and although the elder of the party, who seemed the principal, never turned his eyes towards me, his followers looked at me over the round fan, which they all carried, with much curiosity. The Bishop, by means of an interpreter, held a long conversation with them, and ascertained that they were of the same sect with the Jains, whose temples he had frequently visited in various parts of India, and which he had always suspected, though the latter had denied their identity. The senior priest read, or rather chanted a few lines out of one of their sacred books; in sound it is rather a pleasing language, but almost all their principal words end in a burden of hum, hum, hum, musical certainly, but excessively tedious.

I have been much interested by an account I have just heard of a tribe of wild men, called the "Veddahs," or hunters, who live

in the recesses of the forests; they are found in various parts, but are most numerous in the district of Vedahratte, from whence they derive their name, on the south-east side, towards Trincomalee; there are, it seems, two tribes of these people, the village and the forest Veddah, but they profess to hold no intercourse with each other. Those of the forest live entirely by the chace and on fruits, and never cultivate the ground; they have no habitations, but usually sleep under the trees, and, when alarmed, climb them for safety; they use bows and arrows, and steal up close to their game before they shoot; they track the animal, if only wounded, by its blood, till they come sufficiently near to take aim a second time. As the forests abound with deer, &c., they live well, and some of the caste will occasionally come down into the villages to barter their game for rice, iron, and cloth; their language is a dialect of the Cingalese; they believe in evil spirits, but have no notion of a God, or of a state of future rewards and punishments, and consider it to be a matter of perfect indifference whether they do evil or good. The village Veddahs have many traits in common with their more savage brethren, but they live in huts, and cultivate the ground, though they also seek their principal subsistence in the forests. In themselves they are a peaceable tribe, never commencing, but easily prevailed on to join in any insurrection, and during the Candian sovereignty, were frequently employed as mercenary troops in commotions in the interior. Sir Edward Barnes made an attempt to civilize the wilder tribe, by having some of them brought down into the plains, giving them food, clothes, &c.; he also gave prizes for the best shot among them with the bow and arrow, but they seldom hit the mark even at a moderate distance; their custom of stealing close upon their prey before they shoot will account for this. Although these men liked their treatment so much as to be unwilling to return to their forests, no further good seems to have followed from the experiment.

We took a very beautiful ride this evening, setting out by the borders of a small lake near the centre of the town, which is said

in a great measure to occasion its salubrity; it was formed out of a morass by the last king. A quarter of an hour's ride brought us to one of the most magnificent and striking views which I ever beheld; an immense amphitheatre lay before us, of which the boundaries were lofty mountains of every form, covered more than half way to their summits with foliage; Doomberra Peak, (its native name is Hoonisgirikandy,) about 6000 feet high, lay partly buried in clouds; the plain beneath us was like the most cultivated park scenery, with the river running over rocks through its centre; the only thing wanted to complete the picture, and which the eye sought in vain, was a vestige of human life; nothing but an occasional Hindoo temple was to be seen in places where noblemen's seats might well have stood. Native huts there doubtless were; for, besides that the Candian district is populous, the coco-palm, of which a few clumps were seen, pointed them out; villages are universally marked by these trees, which are not, elsewhere, common in the province, but till one is close upon them, the huts are not to be distinguished from the surrounding jungle, so that the whole country looked like a glorious desert. The banks of the river, along which we rode some distance, are here, as elsewhere, the most productive of fever; it is called the "Candian fever," and appears to be an intermittent, which arrives at its height on the eleventh day, and like all others of the sort in a tropical climate, is liable to return at any period. Beyond the mountains, the country is even said to be more baneful and dangerous to travel through; but, from the want of roads little intercourse is kept up further in the interior. We returned home long after the sun had set, which here is speedily followed by darkness, our road illuminated by myriads of fire-flies, larger and more brilliant than any which I have before seen in India; accustomed as I have now been for two years to these insects, I could not avoid a momentary start as they lit upon me, so perfectly do they resemble sparks of fire. The air, after very great heat, had cooled so rapidly, as to make me glad to button up my habit,

but it was very delightful, and I have not often enjoyed a ride more.

We dined in the king's palace with Mr. and Mrs. Downing; this is a very long low building, at the extremity of the town, painted white, with stone gateways; its front extending nearly 200 yards; a hexagonal building of two stories terminates it at one end, in which we were received; the rooms we saw are small and low, with curious grotesque figures carved on the walls. Here the monarch used to shew himself in state to his people, with a wife on either hand, for though the Candian females of rank have seldom been seen by Europeans, they were not before the conquest kept in seclusion. At the other end of the palace are the women's apartments.

The horrible practice of female infanticide still prevails in some districts in the island; in the last general census taken in 1821, the number of males exceeded by 20,000 that of females; in one district there were to every hundred men but fifty-five women, and in those parts where the numbers were equal, the population was almost exclusively Mussulman. The strange custom of one woman having two, or even more, husbands, and the consequent difficulty of marrying their daughters, in a country where to live single is disgraceful, seem to be the causes of this unnatural custom. An astrologer is consulted on the birth of a female child, and if he pronounces her to have been born under evil auspices, she is exposed alive in the woods, to be destroyed by beasts of prey or by ants, generally, I was happy to hear, without the consent of the mother.

*September* 17.—We visited this morning some of the Buddhist temples; the principal one, which contains the recumbent figure of Buddh, is a square building, with sixteen pillars of masonry supporting the roof. The figure is of a colossal size, about thirty feet long, cut out of the rock, and there are several small figures placed round it, some in the common attitude of sitting with the legs crossed, others standing; many of them are

painted a bright yellow, and the ceiling and walls are also of the most glaring colours; strong smelling flowers were, as usual, ranged as an offering before the image, and in the same row with the smaller ones were placed two bells, the sacred symbol, covered up with great care. Although the priests touched them with reverence, they shewed no reluctance to uncover them for our gratification.

Adjoining this is a smaller temple, enclosing another image of Buddh, in the sitting posture, of human proportions, and carved with considerable skill; the countenance is pleasing, with some resemblance to the Cingalese. Many images surround him in relief; one is of Siva, with four arms and his usual attributes of the lotus and the cobra de capello; some crocodiles surrounding the figure of Buddh would seem to prove a connection between his worship and the Egyptian idolatry. The Cingalese colour the statues of their gods, and give a pupil to the eye, which last ceremony is supposed to confer a superior degree of holiness, and is done with much mystery and solemnity. Some smaller figures of Buddh are very neatly executed in brass and copper; indeed the natives seem to have a remarkable talent for carving, considering how very few their opportunities for improvement can be.

In another temple we were shewn, with extraordinary reverence, some relics of bone taken out of Raja Singh's tomb at the time of our occupation of Candy, when all the royal tombs were broken open, and gold and jewels of considerable value found. The cemetery immediately adjoins this temple; the tombs are of stone, meanly enough sculptured, and much injured by the violence used in forcing them open; the Kings' and Queens' stand on opposite sides, and there is little to recommend the spot except some noble peepul-trees overhanging the tombs, which prove the royal family to have been Hindoos. The temples in Candy are very numerous, as they were considered indispensable appendages to great men's houses; lights are kept burning in the greater number, and the heat added to the strong perfume of the flowers

makes it very unpleasant to remain in them for more than a few minutes. The famous one containing the tooth of Buddh we had not time to visit, but we were shewn a fac-simile of the precious relic, more like a wild beast's tusk than a human tooth; it is kept in a golden case, set with precious stones, and this is enclosed within four others, all of gold and increasing in size, and all studded with jewels; no relic was ever more sumptuously enshrined, or more devoutly worshipped. When we obtained possession of it, the Candians submitted quietly to our rule, believing that its owners have an undisputed title to their crown.

Adjoining the lake, in the centre of the town, is a Buddhist college, where forty priests live under strict discipline, chiefly occupied in religious duties and in teaching; their houses are of the best sort in Candy, of one story, with clay walls and tiled. Two temples and a large room for their meetings are within the enclosure of the monastery, the roof of the latter of which is supported by immense pillars, each of a single stone, near twenty feet high. From within these walls, which are close to Mr. Sawer's house, the sounds of the tom-tom and gongs beat in honour of the idol, are perpetually heard.

But to return to our morning's excursion: from the cemetery we visited the new Mission-school, just erected, on a hill immediately opposite to it, under the care of Mr. Browning, the only Missionary at present here; the Bishop heard the children read and repeat their lessons in English, Malabar, and Cingalese; he was exceedingly pleased with their progress, and with the establishment altogether; it was, indeed, an interesting sight; the children looked happy, anxious to say their lessons, and very proud when they received commendation. There was one little boy who particularly attracted my attention by the eager way in which, after the Bishop had examined him, he brought his book to me. I could only understand the English, but this he read fluently, and appeared to understand. The situation of the school is well chosen, and very beautiful; and the whole establishment the Bishop considered

as well conducted, and of great promise. There are two other schools, altogether containing from 85 to 90 children, which I was too much tired to accompany the Bishop to visit: he spoke favourably of both.

In the evening we accompanied the Governor to the tunnel which he has recently had cut through a hill of considerable height, over which the road was formerly carried from the ferry into Candy. Its length is nearly 500 feet, with sufficient height and width to admit of carriages passing through it. From thence we descended to the river, through most beautiful scenery. It really is melancholy to see so lovely a country rendered almost uninhabitable during the greatest part of the year, in some places even to the natives, by the pestilential malaria. We passed the ruins of a small village, which an engineer officer told me was last year entirely dispeopled by fever. He had built it for the accommodation of a gang of workmen, who were employed in erecting a bridge; and on his return, after a very short absence, found it a desert, all its inhabitants having either died, or fled to preserve their lives. Most of the workmen employed by Government here are Caffres. The first generation appear to stand the climate well, but their children are very liable to pulmonary affections. From the river we ascended by a pathway barely four feet wide, which led us a distance of two miles round the side of a hill till we emerged again on the great road leading to Colombo. This path is cut through thick jungle, with the river running through the valley, which is here very narrow, at a considerable depth below us. It was extremely beautiful, but the passing through so thick a mass of foliage affected me towards the end of the ride with a feeling of sickness and suffocation, which gave me a very good notion of what the country must be during the unhealthy season. Repassing the tunnel, Sir Edward Barnes made the Caffres set up a yell, which reverberating against its roof and sides, had a most savage wild effect. Again we were lit home by fire-flies, and I saw a solitary glow-worm, of a size and brilliancy far exceeding those of England: they are not common in India.

We met a large party at the Pavilion in the evening. The Candian market is miserably supplied; poultry is nearly all imported from Goa and Cochin; sheep soon rot and die off in the luxuriant pasture; and beef, though in most places reckoned fine, is not always good here. The woods supply them with venison and game of all sorts, but the former is seldom fat. In the Governor's garden a few English vegetables are brought to some perfection, but, generally speaking, even here they succeed ill; and the top of the coco-palm is the only good indigenous one I have seen, and as this is very costly, the tree being killed by cutting it off, it of course is not common.

We have seen a few of the Talypot palms, but not in blossom; the circumference of a single leaf, of which the fans I mentioned are made, is often from twenty-five to thirty feet. A branch of the blossom was brought to me; it resembles that of the palm tribe in general, and is curious merely from the circumstance of the tree never flowering till it is fifty years old, and immediately after dying.

*September* 18, *Sunday.*—Early this morning the Bishop held a confirmation; there were seven native candidates, and twenty Europeans; and he afterwards preached at the usual time of morning service. There is no church, but the Hall of Audience, where the Kings of Candy held their courts, is used as such; it is a long room, of which the wooden pillars, having the lotus carved on their capitals, are the only ornamental parts remaining. It was a most interesting and affecting sight to see Christian worship performed, and a Christian Bishop blessing his congregation, a part of which was native, in the very spot where the most horrid cruelties were exercised not more than ten years ago. How little could such an event at that time have been contemplated! Evening service was performed here for the first time, and by the Bishop's desire, it is to be continued. Mr. Perring, the Colonial Chaplain, preached. The mission has been established about six years.

After church, I rode with Sir Edward Barnes to the spot where the massacre of two hundred Europeans took place, imme-

diately before the final conquest of Candy. Major Davies, the officer commanding the corps, had, on evacuating the town, a measure in itself, Sir Edward Barnes said, improper and unnecessary, stipulated that the men should be allowed to cross the country in safety to Trincomalee, and that the king should provide them with boats to pass the river. On arriving at its borders, however, no boats were to be seen, and it was then further insisted on, that the soldiers should lay down their arms. To this condition Major Davies was infatuated enough to consent, although their previous conduct had given him ample reason to suspect the good faith of Government. The result was such as might have been anticipated: the men, with the exception of two, who escaped wounded to Trincomalee, were all massacred. Major Davies's life was spared, from a kind of honourable feeling, as being the individual with whom the treaty had been made; but he spent the remainder of his life at Candy, unnoticed by the Europeans, and, at last, adopted the dress and habits of the natives. A half-caste son of his still lives in the place, supported by a small pension from Government. A large flat stone, elevated on lesser ones, was shewn me as the place whence the king beheld the massacre; and a tree on the spot where the negociation was held, still bears the name of "Major Davies's tree."

On going to the pavilion in the evening to dinner, we found a large bear, that had just been caught in the north of the island, fastened before the door; it was black, with a long whitish snout, but it was too dark to examine it very minutely; and as it was merely confined by a rope to a bush, which bent with the struggles it made to get loose, and roared and barked in a furious manner, I was not anxious to become more closely acquainted with it.

Our acquaintance, Looko Banda, generally accompanied us on our evening rides; he was very anxious to introduce his wives and daughters to me, and I was quite as much so to see them; but my time had been so constantly occupied from the moment of my arrival, that I was obliged to leave Candy without visiting them.

Our departure took place early in the morning of the 19th. We rode to the Botanical Gardens, the mountains to the east affording shelter from the sun for some hours after he is risen. I saw some very curious plants, among others the Annatto shrub, which stains the finger a bright yellow on bruising it, and is used as a dye by the natives; a species of air plant, which has no root, nor any visible means of obtaining nourishment, and requires to be merely suspended in the open air, sheltered from the sun: when planted, or frequently watered, it dies. The specimen I saw had a small brown sweet-scented blossom, and looked quite healthy. These gardens are only in their infancy, but very flourishing. The death of their superintendant, Mr. Moon has, for the present, put a stop to the improvement; the situation is beautiful, but being near the river, is not healthy. At Ootian Candy we again slept, and riding to Ballypore, breakfasted at Veangodde, and arrived at St. Sebastian's, in a heavy storm of thunder and rain, about five o'clock in the evening of the 20th. We had the happiness of finding Emily perfectly well, and of receiving good accounts of Harriet. We both of us enjoyed the excursion extremely, and only wished for time to have seen more of the beauties of this lovely island.

I was much struck with the almost total absence of small birds in the interior. It is supposed that serpents, with which the island abounds, destroy the eggs: some destructive agent of this kind there must be, in a place peculiarly adapted for their increase; and this, certainly, seems the most obvious. I saw parrots of various sorts, pigeons, cranes, and heard jungle-fowls and pheasants. Pea-fowls abound in the interior, and the honey-bird, which points out where the bees have built their combs, is found here. There are only four snakes ascertained to be poisonous; the Cobra de Capello is the most common, but its bite is not so certainly fatal as that of the Tic Polonga, which destroys life in a few minutes. These are fortunately scarce: experiments have been frequently made on the subtlety of its poison; the first bite will kill

a fowl in less than a minute, but frequent repetitions seem to destroy its force, and very considerable provocation is required to make the animal bite, as if it was sensible its power of injury was weakened, or even quite lost. I had a specimen given me by an officer at a small station between Ootian Candy and Kadoogarnarvon pass; it was a young one, and had not attained the ordinary size of between four and five feet. Its head was nearly triangular, the back of it grey, and under the throat a light yellow. The back was regularly spotted with brown, and the tail short and tapering. It is at all times indolent, and will not attack unless it is irritated. The Boa Constrictor is occasionally found of the enormous length of thirty feet. The bite is not poisonous, but its size renders it extremely formidable, though the stories of its attacking so large an animal as a buffalo, or even a cheta, seem quite untrue: it preys upon goats, fowls, and the smaller game. Alligators, of a very large size, are numerous in the rivers. The flying leech, which I never heard of before, is very common in the jungles in the interior; and the native troops, on their march to Candy, suffered very severely from their bites, occasionally even to the loss of life or limb: their legs were covered with them, and streamed with blood. I saw one of these animals on a horse's leg; it is much smaller than the common leech; the largest is, when at rest, not more than half an inch long, and may be extended till it becomes as thin as a fine string. The smaller ones are very minute; they possess the power of springing, by means of a filament, to a considerable distance, and are very annoying to cattle and horses. There are also large black scorpions, lizards, cameleons, &c. &c. and an astonishing variety of insects, with which we are, as yet, but imperfectly acquainted. The most curious of these are the leaf-insects, which assume the shape, size, and general appearance of the leaf on which they feed so exactly, that it is only on examination one becomes aware of their real character. I saw several, but the most extraordinary was one which lived on a thorny plant, the body of which resembled a stick, and was covered with thorns, like the shrub. I have had several of these given me,

together with a black scorpion, and some other insects in spirits, which I hope some day or other to take home; and I have also collected and dried as many flowers as came within my reach.

The precious stones, for which Ceylon is famous, are reckoned less valuable than those of the western continent. The emerald is, perhaps, the only one not found in the island; the amethyst is the most common; and on the old road to Candy, through the seven corles, large pieces are often struck out by horses' hoofs, but they are seldom found without a flaw. The cat's-eye and the sapphire, when of a large size, are beautiful and very valuable: the topaz, ruby, tormaline, diamond, and various others are also found in most abundance in the district of Matura. A kind friend has procured me specimens of all in their rough state, which I consider a valuable acquisition. The cinnamon-stone is, I believe, peculiar to Ceylon, and is probably so called from its colour resembling that of the cinnamon leaf on its first appearance. The natives set them with great neatness, and with means apparently very inadequate to the work. The fruits seem to me very much the same as those of India, with the addition of the mangosteen, but this is now out of season.

*September* 23.—We left Columbo [f] early this morning in the

[f] The following address from the acting Archdeacon and Clergy of Colombo was sent to the Bishop previous to his leaving Colombo.

To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

May it please your Lordship,

We the acting Archdeacon and Clergy of this archdeaconry acknowledge with thankfulness the benefits we have received from your Lordship's visitation of this part of your diocese. We ascribe it to the Father of lights, from whom every good and every perfect gift cometh, that your Lordship has been made his chosen instrument, as we trust, for promoting the spiritual benefit as well of the Clergy over whom he has appointed you overseer, as of all orders of men who have come within the sphere of your Lordship's influence.

We feel it necessary, my Lord, to restrain the full utterance of our feelings on this occasion, but we must beg to be allowed to express our ardent hopes that your devoted piety, your unwearied zeal, your judicious counsels, and your most conciliatory kindness, may have produced in us desires, not ineffectual, to press forward ourselves also in our holy vocation.

Governor's carriage, having bid adieu the preceding evening to him and Lady Barnes, which we did with much regret, for we have received great and invariable kindness from both; indeed, the hospitality which we have met with from the society of Colombo in general has been very gratifying; and we look forward with pleasure to a renewal of our visit, which we hope to effect for a short period next year, if the season should be favourable for a voyage to Jaffna, which the Bishop purposes visiting from the coast.

At Paltura we again were driven by Mr. Rodney to Caltura, where, in a very pretty bungalow, belonging to Mr. Layard, commanding a beautiful view of the river and the sea, we breakfasted. The rivers in Ceylon are very seldom navigable far inland; during the dry season there is not a sufficient depth of water, and in the rains they rise so rapidly from the mountain torrents, that it is dangerous to venture on them. On those near Colombo, we were told that some hundred flat-bottomed boats were moored for the pur-

The encouragement we have unitedly derived from your Lordship's presence among us, tends greatly to strengthen our hands. In the consciousness that by the gracious providence of our heavenly Father, we have collectively and individually the same wise and affectionate counsellor, and in recognizing this tie that connects us with your Lordship, we feel more than ever that we are fellow-labourers together, peculiarly called upon to bear one another's burdens, and to provoke one another to love and to good works.

In conclusion, my Lord, we pray that the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls may still more richly endow you with His heavenly grace, strengthening you for the great work to which He has called you, prolonging your valuable life for the good of His Church and people, and at length, having honoured you as His servant to gather into His fold great numbers from among these eastern nations, may give you, together with them, an abundant entrance into His heavenly kingdom.

James M. S. Glenie, Acting Archdeacon.
H. Gartstin, Colonial Chaplain.
A. Armour, Colonial Chaplain.
J. H. D. Sarum, Colonial Chaplain.
Samuel Lambrick, Church Missionary.
Joseph Knight, Church Missionary.
C. David, Colonial Chaplain.

Colombo,
*September* 22d, 1825.

pose of fishing, in which large families resided, who had no other dwellings; all the rivers and lakes, as well as the sea, abound with fish. We spent some hours very agreeably with Mr. Layard, eat our tiffin with Mr. and Mrs. Rodney, and then proceeded to Ben Totte, where we again passed the night.

*September* 24.—Long before day-break we were on our way to Baddagame. At Amblangodde we breakfasted, and at Kennery left the main road, and wound through very narrow paths, and over broken bridges, scarcely passable even to a palanqueen, across a flat swampy country, till we arrived at the first river which we had crossed on leaving Galle, but some miles higher up. The country then improved into great beauty, and at the end of about two miles we came within sight of a church on the summit of a hill, with the house of one of the missionaries, Mr. Mayor, immediately adjoining it, and that of Mr. Ward on another eminence close to it, forming altogether a landscape of singular and interesting beauty. We ascended by a steep road to Mr. Mayor's where we found the families of the two missionaries, and some of our friends from Galle, awaiting our arrival. At the foot of this hill, the river we had recently crossed winds through what has the appearance of a richly dressed lawn, while all around rise mountains, one above the other to a considerable height, and in an endless variety of shape. On our right was the church, a very pretty building, and behind us stood Mr. Ward's house. The whole scene was peculiarly interesting. Here we found two very young men, with their wives and children, separated from all European society by many miles of country impassable, save in two directions, even to palanqueens, devoting themselves entirely to the service of their Maker, in spreading his religion among the heathen, and in the education of their families. The two families, indeed, seem to form but one household, living together in Christian fellowship, and with no other object but to serve their God, and do their duty to their neighbour. I have seldom been more gratified, I may say affected, than by this sight. I am aware how strong a preju-

dice there exists in many quarters to missions in general, but I felt that if one of their strongest opponents could have witnessed what I then did, and could have informed himself of the real good that is doing (not here alone, but by the other missionaries in the island) by the silent, judicious, and unwearied labours of these good men, his opposition must have ceased. Mr. Mayor, who is son to our neighbour at Shawbury, was originally brought up in the medical line, and passed a very good examination; his surgical and medical knowledge are invaluable to himself and his neighbours, so far removed as they are from all assistance; and even during the short time we were his guests, we found their use in a sudden attack our little girl had, brought on by fatigue and over-exertion.

*September* 25, *Sunday.*—The Bishop consecrated the church and afterwards the burial-ground this morning: almost all the European residents from Galle, and a great number of natives were assembled to witness the ceremony; and, I think, the peculiar circumstances under which it was performed, must have rendered it highly interesting to the greater part of the congregation; at least, if I may judge of their feelings by my own. The Bishop preached, and in the afternoon confirmed thirteen persons, all of whom, save three, were Cingalese; making, together with five who had been previously confirmed at Galle, fifteen recently converted natives in this mission, four of whom received the sacrament.

In the evening the Bishop examined some of the scholars, and heard them read and construe a chapter in the New Testament from English into Cingalese. This station has been established six years, and if the lives of the missionaries are spared, there is every reasonable hope, with God's blessing, of its being productive of extensive good.

*September* 26.—We left Baddagame in palanqueens, along the banks of the river, which was too much swollen by heavy rains, lately fallen, to admit of our going in boats; indeed the track was in some parts covered with water, so deep that it nearly entered

my palanqueen, and was very fatiguing to the poor bearers. In the afternoon we arrived at Galle, and resumed our former apartments at Mr. Sansoni's.

In the expectation of being able to sail to-morrow, the Bishop set off immediately to visit Mrs. Gisborne's school. My poor little girl was still suffering under the effects of her recent attack at Baddagame, which prevented my accompanying him; this I very much regretted, when, on his return, he gave me an account of the establishment, which had pleased him very much, and which reflected great credit on Mrs. Gisborne's good sense and good management.

We were detained two days at Galle by unfavourable winds, for it is impossible to leave the harbour unless it blows from a particular quarter.

Early in the morning of the 29th we re-embarked, our party being augmented by a son of Mr. Layard's, and one of Captain Driburgh's, (the Commandant at Galle) the latter of whom was on his way to Bishop's College, as one of the new students.

Our visit to Ceylon has afforded us very great pleasure and interest, from its agreeable society, the beauty of its scenery, its curiosities, and, far above all, from the religious state of the native inhabitants. I have heard it said, that the number of Christians on the coast, and amongst our settlements, do not fall far short of half a million; very many of these, undoubtedly, are merely nominally such, who have no objection to attend our church, and even would, if they were allowed, partake without scruple in her rites; and then, perhaps, the same evening, offer a propitiatory sacrifice to the devil! Still, the number of real Christians is very considerable; the congregations in the native churches are good; and the numbers who came for confirmation (none were, of course, admitted, of whose fitness their Ministers were not well convinced,) was extremely gratifying. I think the Bishop confirmed above 300.

The Church Missionary Society has four stations,—Nellore, Baddagame, Cotta, and Candy, supplied at present with but six

Missionaries: were its funds sufficient, there would, perhaps, be no limits to which its beneficial effects might not extend; but the island is too poor to do much for itself, and must mainly depend on its friends at home for assistance. Caste exists in considerable force, but it is, perhaps, more political than religious caste. That of the Chaliers I have already mentioned; there is another, yet lower, called "Rhoders," whose tribe was originally degraded for eating beef; their women are fortune-tellers; a large proportion of the Cingalese are, however, on an equality in this respect, and have no objection to following any liberal profession. At Candy the population is scrupulously divided into castes, which include all the different ranks and professions; but there is one caste quite excluded from all intercourse with their countrymen. The name I have forgotten, but I was told that they lived in the deepest misery, from which no good behaviour on their part could raise them. On meeting a Candian of any rank they are forced to pay him the same reverence that this last would do to his king.

The worship of Buddh is the prevailing religion in Candy as well as in other parts of the island, and there are also among the Candians some nominal Christians, who use his doctrines as a charm against evil spirits; this province has, however, been for too short a time under Christian government, to expect any very considerable effects from our intercourse with its natives.

The Candians are a much handsomer and finer race than the Cingalese, the latter of whom are short and slightly made, with countenances a good deal resembling the images of Buddh. In our journey to Candy I was much pleased with the readiness and zeal with which the men used to push the carriages up the steep hills, or hold them back in their descent. On the coast there is a great mixture of inhabitants, descendants of the Dutch and Portuguese as well as Malays, and many others from the coast. There are Mussulmans and Hindoos in all parts, but no great proportion of the latter.

The climate on the south and south-west coast is particularly fine for a tropical country, the thermometer at Colombo ranges from 75° to 86° or 87°, seldom exceeding the latter, though so near the line. This is partly to be attributed to the constant sea-breezes, and partly to its sharing in the winds and rains of the two monsoons which blow at different periods on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. It is not generally injurious to European constitutions either there or to the north; and I have seen several individuals, apparently in the enjoyment of health, though without colour, who have never been out of the island. Last year Ceylon suffered from sickness, in common with all India, very severely, which only ceased when the rains set in, they having been preceded by an unusual drought.

Sir Edward Barnes interests himself much in the improvement of the natives; the roads which he is making must contribute essentially to their prosperity and comfort, and he is attempting to introduce among them the system of entail; at present property is sub-divided into the minutest portions, even to the coco-tree, the 154th part of one of which I have seen advertised for sale. While this custom, with that of forced labour, lasts, the island must be poor; in fact, glorious as it is by nature, it has as yet had very few of the advantages of civilization.

# CHAPTER XXVIII.

CALCUTTA TO SADRAS.

*Voyage—Invalid Officers and Soldiers from Rangoon—Catamarans—Madras—Schools—Native Christians—Visit to Prince Azeem Khân—Sir Thomas Munro—St. Thomas's Mount—Maha-Balipoor—Sadras.*

January 30, 1826.—I again left, with a heavy heart, my dear wife and children, for the visitation of Madras and the south of India. I was accompanied by my Chaplain, Mr. Robinson, and went down by boat to Fultah, a village about 25 miles from Calcutta, where is a good tavern kept by a Dutch native of Chinsurah. The village is large and populous, the greater part of the people are engaged either in rearing stock for the ships at Diamond Harbour, or in making straw hats, and other trifling articles, for strangers passing up and down the river. The surrounding country is like all the rest of lower Bengal, green, perfectly level, overflowed annually by the river, and distributed in rice-fields, scattered in patches amid almost interminable groves of fruit-trees and palms. We found it much cooler than Calcutta, and less infested with musquitos; but during the greater part of the year both this place and all the country round Diamond Harbour, and thence towards the sea, is intensely unwholesome. Were it otherwise, this would be a good place for a missionary, and has been thought of for that purpose. The population of the whole neighbourhood appears to swarm like an ant-hill, but they are all cottagers; no traces of even moderate wealth appear among them, though their

dwellings are clean, and their poverty, to a person acquainted with the few and simple wants of this climate, does not seem abject. Perhaps they do not fare the worse for having the majority of their Zemindars non-resident.

*February* 2.—Having received our summons the preceding evening, and the wind now blowing pleasantly from the north, we proceeded down the noble Ganges, which is here, I should apprehend, eight miles at least in breadth, following the ship to a creek called Barakatallah, a little below Calpee, and diverging from the Ganges into the Sunderbunds.

While anchored at Saugor point, on the 4th, the steam-vessel, Enterprise, passed us, with despatches from Frome, and bringing the unwelcome intelligence, though somewhat relieved by the news of a victory, that hostilities had recommenced with the Burmese.

*Sunday, February* 5.—We proceeded to the Sandheads, and dismissed the pilot. I was glad to learn from him that a poor man, who had once taken us up the river, and got miserably drunk on that occasion, had been greatly impressed by some good advice I had given him, and had since remained a water-drinker. I wish my good counsels were always equally successful!

Our voyage to Madras was tedious, and not over-pleasant; we had a steady, and, for this season, a most unusual south-west wind, from the time the pilot left us, down to *February* 25, when we with difficulty reached the roads. The Bussorah Merchant had a very fine and orderly crew of British seamen, without a single Lascar. There were also thirty miserable invalid soldiers, with some women and children, going back, with broken health and depraved habits, either to England, or, which seemed most probable with many of them, to die at sea. These poor people were, apparently, attentive to what Mr. Robinson and I read and prayed, and we took it by turns to visit them once a day. We were not, however, able to flatter ourselves that the impression made was at all deep, and the women, in particular, seemed incor-

rigible in their drunkenness, though one of them, who was actually and hopelessly dying from this cause, was a fluent talker on religious matters, and had been, she told us, religiously educated, and, while in England, a constant member of Mr. Rowland Hill's congregation.

Nothing can be more foolish, or in its effects more pernicious, than the manner in which spirits are distributed to European troops in India. Early every morning a pint of fiery, coarse, undiluted rum is given to every man, and half that quantity to every woman; this, the greater part of the new-comers abhor in the first instance, or would, at all events, if left to themselves, mix with water. The ridicule of their seasoned companions, however, deters them from doing so, and a habit of the worst kind of intemperance is acquired in a few weeks, more fatal to the army than the swords of the Jâts, or the climate of the Burmese. If half the quantity of spirit, well watered, were given at a more seasonable hour, and, to compensate for the loss of the rest, a cup of strong coffee allowed to each man every morning, the men would be quite as well pleased, and both their bodies and souls preserved from many dreadful evils. Colonel Williams, of the "Queen's Own," whom we met at Bombay, has tried this experiment with much success, and it might, with a little resolution, be universal throughout the army.

The younger sailors were, many of them, very attentive and devout, when we visited the soldiers. On Sundays, indeed, all the crew were decent and orderly in their attendance on Divine Service, and the passengers, though a set little less motley than the crew, evinced much readiness to join in family prayer every evening. There was much grievous distress on board. Two officers from Rangoon and Arracan, both gentlemanly young men, the one wasted by fever to a living skeleton, without use of his legs or arms, carried up and down the ladder to and from table, his eyes almost glazed, and his voice feeble and hollow,—the other, who was particularly intelligent and good-tempered, and had the traces of much strength and manly beauty, was covered from head to foot

with ulcers, some of which reached quite to his bones. Both these, as well as a third, who was killing himself with dram-drinking, were going home for their health, though the surgeon of the ship expressed great fears that all three would share the fate of a poor baby who died on board, and find their graves before they reached Europe.

Two of the female passengers were also objects of considerable pity ; the first being a young widow, whose husband, a small indigo planter, had failed in business, and destroyed himself, and who was now going home, with her child, to live on the charity of some poor relations. The other, a wretched crazy girl, also in an humble rank of life, who had fallen in love with a man in a more elevated station, and who had since hardly spoken at all, but continued crying all day long.

On the whole, what I saw and heard on board the Bussorah Merchant, was not calculated to make my voyage one of pleasure, even if I had felt less keenly my separation at Calcutta. It was a comfort to me, however, with regard to this, that the officers on board, who were all well acquainted with Madras and the south of India, coincided in opinion with what we had been previously told, that it would be highly improper for either women or children to travel there at this season of the year.

Our first view of the coast of Coromandel was of some low craggy hills near Pulicat, at some little distance inland. Madras itself is on a level beach, having these hills eight or ten miles to the north, and the insulated rock of St. Thomas about the same distance southward. The buildings and fort, towards the sea, are handsome, though not large, and grievously deficient in shade ; the view, however, from the roads, and on landing, is very pretty.

The masuli-boats (which first word is merely a corruption of "muchli," fish,) have been often described, and, except that they are sewed together with coco-nut twine, instead of being fastened with nails, they very much resemble the high deep charcoal-boats which are frequently seen on the Ganges. The catamarans, how-

ever, I found I had no idea of till I saw them. They are each composed of three coco-tree logs, lashed together, and big enough to carry one, or, at most, two persons. In one of these a small sail is fixed, like those used in Ceylon, and the navigator steers with a little paddle ; the float itself is almost entirely sunk in the water, so that the effect is very singular, of a sail sweeping along the surface with a man behind it, and apparently nothing to support them. Those which have no sails are, consequently, invisible, and the men have the appearance of treading water, and performing evolutions with a racket. In very rough weather the men lash themselves to their little rafts, but in ordinary seas they seem, though frequently washed off, to regard such accidents as mere trifles, being naked all but a wax-cloth cap, in which they keep any letters they may have to convey to ships in the roads, and all swimming like fish. Their only danger is from sharks, which are said to abound. These cannot hurt them while on their floats, but woe be to them if they catch them while separated from that defence. Yet, even then, the case is not quite hopeless, since the shark can only attack them from below ; and a rapid dive, if not in very deep water, will sometimes save them. I have met an Englishman who thus escaped from a shark which had pursued him for some distance. He was cruelly wounded, and almost dashed to pieces on the rocky bottom against which the surf threw him ; but the shark dared not follow, and a few strokes more placed him in safety.

The contrary wind which had so long delayed us, ensured us a peaceable landing, as it blew directly off shore, and the surf was consequently much less than it often is, or than I had heard it described. It was less than we had seen it in the shore of Ceylon, not merely at Galle, but at Barbereen, and on the beach near Columbo ; still it would, I think, have staved the strongest ship's boat ; but in boats adapted to the service, it had nothing formidable.

We were received on the beach by Captain Grant, the master

attendant, Mr. Gwatkin, the second commissioner of marine, and Mr. Roy, the senior chaplain; and soon after joined by the town-major, Colonel Taylor, who conducted us to a most comfortable house, which Government had provided for my accommodation.

The time which I passed in Madras was so much occupied in getting through a great accumulation of professional duties, as well as in receiving and paying visits, that I had no time to keep a journal. I was pleased with my Clergy, and found myself on the most friendly terms with them. The Governor and principal civil and military functionaries were more than civil and hospitable; they were most kind and considerate in doing every thing which could contribute to my comfort either in Madras or in the preparations for my journey. I confirmed 478 persons in St. George's Church; and about 120 more at Poonamallee, a station about sixteen miles off. My visitation was attended by the Archdeacon and fifteen Clergymen, including the Church Missionaries and those of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. These last, being Lutherans, though episcopally ordained in Denmark, Bishop Middleton thought himself precluded from acknowledging as Clergymen, forbade them to preach in any but their own Churches, and would not admit the young Tamulians, whom they had prepared, for confirmation. In consequence, I had only a small number of candidates from that nation, and those prepared by the Church Missionaries, but Dr. Rottler said that by my return to Madras, they should have, probably, 150 ready to attend me.

The principal Church in Madras, St. George's, is very beautiful, and the chunam, particularly, of the inside, has an effect little less striking than the finest marble. The small old Church in the fort (St. Mary's) has some good monuments, particularly one erected to the memory of the Missionary Schwartz, by the East India Company, and the Scottish Church, though of a singular and injudicious form for the purpose of hearing, is a very large and stately building, fitted up with much elegance. Here, as elsewhere in India, I

found the Scots Clergy extremely well disposed to be on friendly terms with those of England. Mr. Lawrie, the junior minister, was, I think, one of my most constant auditors in the different Churches where I preached.

The other buildings of Madras offer nothing very remarkable; the houses all stand in large compounds, scattered over a very great extent of ground, though not quite so widely separated as at Bombay. There are not many upper-roomed houses among them, nor have I seen any of three stories. The soil is, happily, so dry, that people may safely live and sleep on the ground floor. I do not think that in size of rooms they quite equal those either of Calcutta or Bombay; but they are more elegant, and, to my mind, pleasanter than the majority of either. The compounds are all shaded with trees and divided by hedges of bamboo, or prickly pear; against these hedges several objections have lately been made, on the ground that they intercept the breeze, and contribute to fevers. I know not whether this charge has any foundation; but, if removed, they would greatly disfigure the place; and, in this arid climate, where no grass can be preserved more than a few weeks after the rains, would increase to an almost intolerable degree, a glare from the sandy and rocky soil, which I already found very oppressive and painful.

Government-house is handsome, but falls short of Pareil in convenience, and the splendour of the principal apartments. There is, indeed, one enormous banqueting-house, detached from the rest and built at a great expense, but in vile taste; and which can be neither filled nor lighted to any advantage. It contains some bad paintings of Coote, Cornwallis, Meadows, and other military heroes, and one, of considerable merit, of Sir Robert Strange, all fast going to decay in the moist sea-breeze, and none of them, except the last, deserving of a longer life.

There are some noble charities here; the military school for male and female orphans, where Dr. Bell first introduced his system, is superior to any thing in Calcutta, except the upper

schools at Kidderpoor. The orphan asylums in the Black Town, though much smaller, put the management of the Calcutta free-school to shame; and at Vepery is the finest Gothic Church, and the best establishment of native schools, both male and female, which I have yet seen in India. The native Christians are numerous and increasing, but are, unfortunately, a good deal divided about castes, respecting which I have to make some regulations, which I have deferred till I have seen the missions in the south. The majority of the Missionaries complain of Christian David as intriguing and tracassier; I myself am not easily shaken in my good opinion of him; and I find good old Dr. Rottler thinks with me. I have, however, obtained the appointment of a select committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to enquire into the real nature of the claims of caste still subsisting, and to report to me at my return, which with my own enquiries may, perhaps, land us nearer the truth. I find there is a vast deal to do connected with the southern missions; and have had many intricate and important points referred to me, both by the Committee, Dr. Rottler, and Mr. Haubroe. My journey I foresee will not be a party of pleasure, but I rejoice that I have not delayed it any longer.

I also received very uncomfortable accounts of the new Syrian Archbishop in Travancore, who was in open war with the English Missionaries and the two metropolitans who had till now supported them. On the whole I had abundant reason to pray heartily for health, discretion, and firmness, since in no part of India had I found so much expected from me.

The Armenians in Madras are numerous, and some of them wealthy. Mr. Sam, the principal of them, is a very sensible and well-informed man, a great traveller, like most of his nation, and who, more than most of his nation, has mixed and still mixes in good European society. He told me some curious particulars concerning his country, partly on his own authority, partly as interpreter to Mar Simeon, a dignified ecclesiastic from a convent

near Erivan, whom I met with at Bombay, and who now again called on me. At Bombay they had called him Bishop, but I now found that he was only Episcopal Commissary from the Archbishop of Shirauz. I thought him now, as I had previously done at Bombay, a plain, modest man, very grateful for attention, but far less well-informed and interesting than Mar Abraham of Jerusalem. He told me, what I was glad to learn, that the Russians governed their new conquests on the side of Georgia very well and justly, and that the poor oppressed Christians of Armenia earnestly prayed that they also might become the subjects of the Emperor, instead of Persia and Turkey. He too, as well as Mar Abraham and the Archbishop Athanasius, expressed a desire to attend the English Church service, and accordingly came the day on which I administered confirmation.

On the whole I cannot but hope that many good effects may arise from this approximation in courtesy, &c. of the Eastern Churches to our own; when they find that we desire no dominion over them, they may gradually be led to imitate us. But it is painful to see how slight causes, as in the case of Athanasius, may endanger this alliance.

During my stay in Madras, I paid a visit to the Prince Azeem Khân, uncle and guardian to the Nawâb of the Carnatic, who is an infant. All my Clergy accompanied me in their gowns, and we were received with as much state as this little court could muster, but which need not be described, as it did not vary from that of other Mussulman princes, and reminded me very much of Dacca on a larger scale. I was chiefly struck with the great number of "Ullemah," learned men, or, at least, persons in the white dress of Mussulman Ullemah, whom we found there.

While I was conversing, to the best of my power, with the Prince, Mr. Robinson was talking with some of these, who asked many curious questions about our Clergy, whether all those whom they saw had come with me from Calcutta, whether our Clergy could marry, whether I was married, and whether I was appointed

to my office by the Company or the King. I rose, visibly, in their estimation by being told the latter, but they expressed their astonishment that I wore no beard, observing, with much truth, that our learned men lost much dignity and authority by the effeminate custom of shaving. They also asked if I was the head of all the English Church; and on being told that I was the head in India, but that there was another Clergyman in England superior to me; the question was then again asked, "and does not *he* wear a beard?" Near the place where I sate a discussion arose, whether my office answered to any among the Mussulmans, and it was at length determined that I was, precisely, what they term "Moostahid."

This was one of my last performances in Madras, where, indeed, I was almost worn out, having preached (reckoning charge and confirmation addresses) eleven times in little more than a fortnight, besides presiding at a large meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, visiting six schools, giving two large dinner parties, and receiving and paying visits innumerable. Had I also had to make the arrangements for my journey, I should have been quite tired out; but here Mr. Robinson and Colonel Taylor left me little to do.

The Madras servants I had heard highly praised, but I think beyond their merits; they are not by any means so cleanly as those of Bengal, nor do I think them so intelligent. The English which they speak is so imperfect, that it is sometimes worse than nothing; and few of them know any thing of Hindoostanee. In honesty both seem pretty much on a par; the expences of Madras very far exceed those of Calcutta, except house rent, which is much less.

It was very pleasant to hear Sir Charles Grey so universally spoken of with respect and affection; and, though I had not the same personal interest in his praise, it was interesting to find only one voice about Sir Thomas Munro, whose talents, steadiness, and justice, seemed admitted by every body; he is a fine, dignified old

soldier, with a very strong and original understanding, and a solid practical judgement; he is excellently adapted for the situation which he holds; and his popularity is, perhaps, the more honourable to him, because his manners, though unaffected and simple, are reserved and grave, at least on a first acquaintance.

The climate of Madras I found decidedly hotter at this season than the March which I spent in Calcutta; the nights, however, were cool, and it should be noticed that people spoke of the season as unusually sultry, and complained of the great want of rain. What I saw, therefore, was not to be taken as a fair specimen of Madras heat and aridity.

Mr. Robinson and I left Madras on the afternoon of Monday, the 13th, having sent on our baggage, horses, and servants on the preceding Saturday, under the care of Captain Harkness, the officer commanding my escort. We went in a carriage to the military station of St. Thomas's Mount, eight miles from Madras, intending, in our way, to visit the spot marked out by tradition as the place where the Apostle St. Thomas was martyred. Unfortunately the "little mount," as this is called, (being a small rocky knoll with a Roman Catholic Church on it, close to Marmalong bridge in the suburb of Meilapoor,) is so insignificant, and so much nearer Madras than we had been given to understand, that it did not attract our attention till too late. That it is really the place I see no good reason for doubting; there is as fair historical evidence as the case requires, that St. Thomas preached the Gospel in India and was martyred at a place named Milliapoor or Meilapoor. The eastern Christians, whom the Portuguese found in India, all agreed in marking out this as the spot, and in saying that the bones, originally buried here, had been carried away as relics to Syria. They, and even the surrounding heathen, appear to have always venerated the spot, as these last still do, and to have offered gifts here on the supposed anniversary of his martyrdom. And as the story contains nothing improbable from beginning to end (except a trumpery fabrication of some relics found here by

the Portuguese monks about a century and a half ago,) so it is not easy to account for the origin of such a story among men of different religions, unless there were some foundation for it.

I know it has been sometimes fancied that the person who planted Christianity in India was a Nestorian Bishop named Thomas, not St. Thomas the Apostle, but this rests, absolutely, on no foundation but a supposition, equally gratuitous and contrary to all early ecclesiastical history, that none of the Apostles except St. Paul went far from Judea. To this it is enough to answer that we have no reason why they should *not* have done so; or why, while St. Paul went (or intended to go) to the shores of the furthest west, St. Thomas should not have been equally laborious and enterprising in an opposite direction. But that all the Apostles, except the two St. James's, did really go forth to preach the Gospel in different parts of the world, as it was, *a priori*, to be expected, so that they did so we have the authority of Eusebius and the old Martyrologies, which is, at least, as good as the doubts of a later age, and which would be reckoned conclusive if the question related to any point of civil history. Nor must it be forgotten, that there were Jews settled in India at a very early period, to convert whom would naturally induce an Apostle to think of coming hither; that the passage, either from the Persian Gulph or the Red Sea is neither long nor difficult, and was then extremely common; and that it may be, therefore, as readily believed that St. Thomas was slain at Meilapoor as that St. Paul was beheaded at Rome, or that Leonidas fell at Thermopylæ. Under these feelings I left the spot behind with regret, and shall visit it if I return to Madras, with a reverent though, I hope, not a superstitious interest and curiosity.

The larger mount, as it is called, of St. Thomas is a much more striking spot, being an insulated cliff of granite, with an old Church on the summit, the property of those Armenians who are united to the Church of Rome. It is also dedicated to St. Thomas, but (what greatly proves the authenticity of its rival)

none of the sects of Christians or Hindoos consider it as having been in any remarkable manner graced by his presence or burial. It is a picturesque little building, and commands a fine view. We went up to it with Mr. Hallowell, the Chaplain of the station at its foot, which is the principal cantonment for artillery belonging to the Madras army.

Government are building a handsome Church here, in a very advantageous situation, immediately at the foot of the mount, and with some noble trees round it. The foundation is now laid, and, when finished, it will have its chancel westward instead of eastward, a peculiarity which I found many persons were offended at, but which I did not think worth altering, inasmuch as this method of placing the building suited best in point of effect and convenience. There is no canon that I know of for placing Churches with the altars eastward; and though this custom is, certainly, most ancient and usual, there have been many remarkable exceptions to it from the Cathedral of Antioch, built in the age immediately succeeding the Apostles, down to St. Peter's in Rome, which has also its sanctuary westward.

The cantonment is very beautifully placed, with a noble parade-ground planted with fine trees, and its rocky back ground and other circumstances give it a great advantage over Dum Dum. It is also reckoned one of the most wholesome spots in the south of India, being considerably elevated above the sea, and enjoying the breeze in much perfection.

After drinking tea with Mr. and Mrs. Hallowell, we got into our palanqueens, accompanied by Mr. Doran, one of the Church Missionaries, who is to be placed at Cotyam in Travancore, and who had been before with me in Calcutta. I asked him to join my party in this journey, both as it was a great advantage and convenience to him, and as it gave me the opportunity of grounding him thoroughly in my views with regard to the management to be observed with the Syrian Churches, among whom he would have to labour. Government kindly supplied him with the loan

of a tent in the character of my second Chaplain, and I look forwards to no inconvenience but rather pleasure from his society. He is a young Irishman, educated at Trinity College, an extremely good scholar, and of a modest and gentle character and manners; who is, however, a mere child in all matters of prudence and worldly management, and if he had got into improper hands on first coming to India, would have been likely to fall into enthusiasm. As it is, I heartily hope that he will be a valuable accession to the Church in this country.

We travelled all night, a practice which I am not fond of, but which circumstances rendered desirable, and, exactly at day-break, reached the rocky beach below the seven pagodas, and where the surf, according to the Hindoos, rolls and roars over "the city of the great Bali." One very old temple of Vishnu stands immediately on the brink, and amid the dash of the spray, and there are really some small remains of architecture, among which a tall pillar, supposed by some to be a lingam, is conspicuous, which rise from amid the waves, and give a proof that, in this particular spot, (as at Madras) the sea has encroached on the land, though in most other parts of the Coromandel coast it seems rather receding than advancing. There are also many rocks rising through the white breakers, which the fancy of the brahmins points out as ruins, and the noise of the surf, the dark shadow of the remaining building, the narrow slip of dark smooth sand, the sky just reddening into dawn and lending its tints to the sea, together with the remarkable desolation of the surrounding scenery, were well calculated to make one remember with interest the description in Kehama, and to fancy that one saw the beautiful form of Kailyal in her white mantle pacing sadly along the shore, and watching till her father and lover should emerge from the breakers. In two points the picture only fails; the caverns in which she was to lodge at night are, at least, a mile from high-water mark, and in this climate it is at noon-day only, not as a bed-chamber, that a cavern will be preferred to the open air. I made a sketch of the scene;

but it is one of those which is nothing except in the hand of a painter.

The case is otherwise with the real city of Maha-Bali-poor, whose ruins stand among the cliffs at the distance of a short half-mile inland. This has really been a place of considerable importance as a metropolis of the ancient kings of the race of Pandion, and its rocks which, in themselves, are pretty and picturesque, are carved out into porticos, temples, bas-reliefs, &c. on a much smaller scale, indeed, than Elephanta or Kennery, but some of them very beautifully executed. They differ from those of the north and west of India (which are almost all dedicated to Siva or Kali,) in being in honour of Vishnu, whose different avatars are repeated over and over in the various temples, while I only saw the solitary lingam, if it be one, which I have mentioned, in the sea, and one unfinished cave which struck me as intended for a temple of the destroying power.

Many of the bas-reliefs are of great spirit and beauty; there is one of an elephant with two young ones strikingly executed; and the general merit of the work is superior to that of Elephanta, though the size is extremely inferior. I had heard much of the lions which are introduced in different parts of the series, and the execution of which was said to be more remarkable because no lions are known to exist in the south of India. But I apprehend that the critics who have thus praised them have taken their idea of a lion from those noble animals which hang over inn-doors in England, and which, it must be owned, the lions of Maha-Bali-poor very remarkably resemble; they are, in fact, precisely such animals as an artist, who had never seen one, would form from description.

Notwithstanding the supposed connection of these ruins with the great Bali, I only saw one bas-relief which has reference to his story, and which has considerable merit. It represents Bali seated on his throne, and apparently shrinking in terror at the moment when Vishnu, dismissing his disguise of a brahmin dwarf under which he had asked "the king of the three worlds" to grant

him three paces of his kingdom, appears in his celestial and gigantic form, striding from earth to heaven, and "wielding all weapons in his countless hands," over the head of the unfortunate Raja, who, giant as he himself is said to have been, is represented as a mere Lillyputian in the presence of "the preserving deity." These ruins cover a great space; a few small houses inhabited by brahmins are scattered among them, and there is one large and handsome temple of Vishnu of later date and in pretty good repair, the priests of which chiefly live by shewing the ruins. One of them acted as our Cicerone, and seemed the only person in the place who spoke Hindoostanee. Two boys preceded us with a pipe and a small pair of cymbals, and their appearance among these sculptures was very picturesque and appropriate.

After about two hours spent in Maha-Bali-poor, or, as the Tamul pronunciation makes it, Mavellipooram, we again got into our palanqueens, and went on to Sadras, a spot about a mile beyond, where our tents and servants were expecting us, and where we found our companions, Captain Harkness and Dr. Hyne.

Sadras is a large but poor-looking town, once a Dutch settlement, and still containing many families of decayed burghers, like those of Ceylon, the melancholy relics of a ruined factory. Some of them have little pensions from the charity of the British Government, and there is a Dutch missionary, a very poor and modest, and apparently, a good man, who lives among them, does duty in Dutch and Portuguese, and has a little school for both Christian and Heathen children. His salary is paid by a religious society in the Netherlands. A small old pagoda is in the entrance of the town, whose principal inmates, the presiding brahmin and the dancing-girl, followed me to my tent. This was the first specimen which I had seen of the southern Bayadêre, who differ considerably from the nâch girls of northern India, being all in the service of different temples, for which they are purchased young, and brought up with a degree of care which is seldom bestowed on the females of India of any other class. This care not only extends to dancing

and singing, and the other allurements of their miserable profession, but to reading and writing. Their dress is lighter than the bundles of red cloth which swaddle the figuranté of Hindostan, and their dancing is said to be more indecent, but their general appearance and manner seemed to me far from immodest, and their air even more respectable than the generality of the lower classes of India. The poor girl whom I saw at Sadras, making allowance for the difference of costume and complexion, might have passed for a smart, but modest, English maid-servant. The money which they acquire in the practice of their profession is hallowed to their wicked gods, whose ministers are said to turn them out without remorse, or with a very scanty provision, when age or sickness renders them unfit for their occupation. Most of them, however, die young. Surely, the more one sees of this hideous idolatry, the more one must abhor it, and bless God for having taught us better. I had heard that the Bayadêres were regarded with respect among the other classes of Hindoos, as servants of the gods, and that, after a few years' service, they often married respectably. But, though I made several enquiries, I cannot find that this is the case; their name is a common term of reproach among the women of the country, nor could any man of decent caste marry one of their number. Yet the gods are honoured who receive such sacrifices! I have always looked on these poor creatures with no common feelings of sorrow and pity.

Our little camp was on the sea-shore, about two miles beyond the town of Sadras, and I found abundant reason to acknowledge the liberal kindness of Government in the number and excellence of the tents, camels, and elephants which they had provided for me.

*March* 15.—We set out this morning at half-past three, and rode over a very sandy, but rather pretty country, much resembling the coast of Ceylon, being covered with coco and palmyra-trees, and intersected with several streams.

# CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

*Barrackpoor, October 29th,* 1823.

MY DEAR WYNN,

The first quiet morning which I have had since my arrival in India I cannot employ more agreeably than in writing to those dear and kind friends, the recollection of whom I feel binding me still more strongly to England, the farther I am removed from it. . . . .

The first sight of India has little which can please even those who have been three months at sea. The coast is so flat as only to be distinguished, when very near it, by the tall coco-trees which surround the villages; and Juggernauth, which is a conspicuous sea-mark, shews merely three dingy conical domes, like glass-houses. The view of Saugor is still worse, being made up of marshes and thick brush-wood, on the same level line of shore, and conveying at once the idea, which it well deserves, of tygers, serpents, and fevers. During the night of our anchoring under its lee, however, few of us went to bed without reluctance, since, besides the interest which men feel in looking on land at all, after so long an absence, I never saw such magnificent sheet-lightening in my life as played over it all night. When coupled with the unhealthy and dangerous character of the place, and the super-

stitions connected with it as the favourite abode of Kali, it was impossible to watch the broad, red, ominous light, which flickered without more intermission than just served to heighten its contrast with darkness, and not to think of Southey's Padalon ; and it luckily happened that "Kehama" was on board, and that many of the party, at my recommendation, had become familiar with it during the voyage. By the way, what a vast deal of foolish prejudice exists about Southey and his writings. Of the party on board some had been taught to think him a Jacobin, some an Ultra-Tory, some a Methodist, some an enemy to all religion, and some a madman. None had read a line of his works, but all were inclined to criticise him, and yet all, when they really tried the formidable volume, were delighted both with the man and the poetry. Nor is he the only poet for whom I succeeded in obtaining some justice. I repeated at different times some parts of the "Ancient Mariner," without telling whose it was, and had the pleasure to find that its descriptions of natural objects in tropical countries, were recognized by the officers, and more experienced passengers, as extremely vivid, and scarcely exaggerated. The chief mate, a very hard-headed Scotsman, a grandson of Lord Monboddo's, was particularly struck, and downright affected, with the shrinking of the planks of the devoted ship when becalmed under the line, the stagnation and rolling of the deep, and the diminished size, and terrible splendour of the noon-day sun, right over the mast-head, "in a hot and copper sky." He foretold that we should see something like this when the Grenville came to anchor in the Hooghly; and verily he fabled not. The day after our arrival off Saugor the sun was, indeed, a thing of terror, and almost intolerable ; and the torrent, carrying down trees, sugar-canes, and corpses past us every five minutes, and boiling as it met the tide-stream, like milled chocolate, with its low banks of jungle, or of bare sand, was as little promising to a new comer as could well be conceived. Of these different objects, the corpses, as you are aware, are a part of the filthy superstition of the country, which throws the dead, half-roasted

over a scanty fire, into the sacred river; and such objects must always be expected and perceived by more senses than one. The others, though also usual at the termination of the rains, were this year particularly abundant, from the great height to which the river had risen, and the consequent desolation which it had brought on the lower plantations and villages.

We arrived in Fort William on the evening of the 10th. The impression made by the appearance of the European houses which we passed in Garden-reach,—by our own apartments, by the crowd of servants, the style of the carriages and horses sent to meet us, and almost all the other circumstances which met our eyes, was that of the extreme similarity of every thing to Russia, making allowance only for the black instead of the white faces, and the difference of climate, though even in Russia, during summer, it is necessary to guard against intense heat. This impression was afterwards rather confirmed than weakened. The size of the houses, their whiteness and Palladian porticos, the loftiness of the rooms, and the scanty furniture,—the unbounded hospitality and apparent love of display, all reminded me of Petersburgh and Moscow; to which the manner in which the European houses are scattered, with few regular streets, but each with its separate court-yard and gate-way, and often intermixed with miserable huts, still more contributed.

I caught myself several times mixing Russian with my newly acquired Hindoostanee, talking of rubles instead of rupees, and bidding the attendants come and go in what they, of course, mistook for English, but which was Sclavonic. I was surprised to find how little English is understood by them; out of upwards of forty servants, there are only two who have the least smattering of it, and they know a few of the commonest words without the power of putting together or understanding a sentence. The sircar, indeed, is a well-educated man, but of him we see comparatively little, so that we have abundant opportunity and necessity for the acquisition of the native languages. After a manner, indeed, every

body speaks them, but we find (I must say) our previous instructions in grammar from Gilchrist extremely valuable, both as facilitating our progress, and as guarding us from many ridiculous equivoques and blunders into which other *griffins* fall. . . . . . . . .

My situation here is extremely pleasant, as pleasant as it can be at a distance from such friends as those whom I have left behind, and I have a field of usefulness before me, so vast, that my only fear is lest I should lose my way in it. The attention and the kindness of the different members of Government, and the hospitality of the society of Calcutta, have been every thing we could wish and more. The arrears of business which I have to go through, though great, and some of a vexatious nature, are such as I see my way through. My own health, and those of my wife and child have rather improved than otherwise since our landing, and the climate, now that we have lofty rooms and means of taking exercise at proper times of the day, is any thing but intolerable. . . . .

Of what are called in England "the luxuries of the east," I cannot give a very exalted description; all the fruits now in season are inferior to those of England. The oranges, though pleasant, are small and acid; the plaintain is but an indifferent mellow-pear; the shaddock has no merit but juicyness and a slight bitter taste which is reckoned good in fevers, and the guava is an almost equal mixture of raspberry jam and garlic. Nor are our artificial luxuries more remarkable than our natural. They are, in fact, only inventions (judicious and elegant certainly) to get rid of real and severe inconveniences, while all those circumstances in which an Englishman mainly places his ideas of comfort or splendour, such as horses, carriages, glass, furniture, &c. are, in Calcutta, generally paltry and extravagantly dear. In fact, as my shipmate Colonel Pennington truly told me, "the real luxuries of India, when we can get them, are cold water and cold air." But though the luxury and splendour are less, the society is better than I expected.

The state in which the high officers of Government appear,

and the sort of deference paid to them in society are great, and said to be necessary in conformity with native ideas and the example set by the first conquerors, who took their tone from the Mussulmans whom they supplanted. All members of council, and others, down to the rank of puisne judges inclusive, are preceded by two men with silver-sticks, and two others with heavy silver-maces, and they have in society some queer regulations, which forbid any person to quit a party before the lady or gentleman of most rank rises to take leave.

* * * * *

There are some circumstances in Calcutta dwellings which at first surprise and annoy a stranger. The lofty rooms swarm with cockroaches and insects; sparrows and other birds fly in and out all day, and as soon as the candles are lighted, large bats flutter on their indented wings, like Horace's *cura*, round our *laqueata tecta*, if this name could be applied to roofs without any ceiling at all, where the beams are left naked and visible, lest the depredations of the white ant should not be seen in time.

* * * * *

On the whole, however, you will judge from my description that I have abundant reason to be satisfied with my present comforts and my future prospects, and that in the field which seems opened to me for extensive usefulness and active employment, I have more and more reason to be obliged to the friend who has placed me here.

The country round Calcutta is a perfect flat, intersected by pools and canals, natural and artificial, teeming with population like an ant-hill, and covered with one vast shade of fruit trees, not of low growth like those of England, but, generally speaking, very lofty and majestic. To me it has great interest; indeed, such a scene as I have described, with the addition of a majestic river, may be monotonous but cannot be ugly.

Barrackpoor, the governor's country-house, is really a beautiful place, and would be thought so in any country. It has what

is here unexampled, a park of about 150 acres of fine turf, with spreading scattered trees, of a character so European, that if I had not been on an elephant, and had not from time to time seen a tall coco-tree towering above all the rest, I could have fancied myself on the banks of the Thames instead of the Ganges. It is hence that I date my letter, having been asked to pass two days here. Our invitation was for a considerably longer period, but it is as yet with difficulty that I can get away even for a few hours from Calcutta.

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Of the religious state of India I have little as yet to say. I have bestowed the archdeaconry, much to my satisfaction, on the senior resident chaplain, Mr. Corrie, who is extremely popular in the place, and one of the most amiable and gentlemanly men in manners and temper I ever met with.

* * * * *

In the schools which have been lately established in this part of the empire, of which there are at present nine established by the Church Missionary, and eleven by the Christian Knowledge Societies, some very unexpected facts have occurred. As all direct attempts to convert the children are disclaimed, the parents send them without scruple. But it is no less strange than true, that there is no objection made to the use of the Old and New Testament as a class book; that so long as the teachers do not urge them to eat what will make them lose their caste, or to be baptized, or to curse their country's gods, they readily consent to every thing else, and not only Mussulmans but Brahmins stand by with perfect coolness, and listen sometimes with apparent interest and pleasure while the scholars, by the road side, are reading the stories of the creation and of Jesus Christ. Whether the children themselves may imbibe Christianity by such means, or whether they may suffer these truths to pass from their minds, as we allow the mythology which we learn at school to pass from ours, some further time is yet required to shew, but this, at least, I understand has been ascertained, that a more favourable opinion both of us and

our religion has been, apparently, felt of late by many of those who have thus been made acquainted with its leading truths, and that some have been heard to say, that they did not know till now that the English had "a caste or a shaster." You may imagine with what feelings I have entered the huts where these schools are held, on seeing a hundred poor little children seated on the ground writing their letters in sand, or their copies on banana leaves, coming out one after another to read the history of the good Samaritan, or of Joseph, proud of shewing their knowledge, and many of them able to give a very good account of their studies.

I have been even more gratified at seeing the confidence and respect evidently shewn by the elder villagers towards the clergy who superintend these schools. I yesterday saw a man follow a German missionary, to request that he would look at his little boy's copy; and Mr. Hawtayne, the secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, seems as well known and received in the vicinity of his schools, as any English clergyman in his parish.

I have not as yet received any visits from the wealthy natives, though some of them have made enquiries through my sircar, whether such visits would be agreeable to me, to which I, of course, answered, "extremely so." Their progress in the imitation of our habits is very apparent, though still the difference is great. None of them adopt our dress, (indeed their own is so much more graceful, and so much better adapted to the climate, that they would act very absurdly in doing so.) But their houses are adorned with verandahs and Corinthian pillars; they have very handsome carriages, often built in England; they speak tolerable English, and they shew a considerable liking for European society, where (which unfortunately is not always the case,) they are encouraged or permitted to frequent it on terms of any thing like equality. Few of them, however, will eat with us; and this opposes a bar to familiar intercouse, which must, even more than fashion and John Bullism, keep them at a distance.

They are described, especially the Hindoos, as not ill-affected to a government under which they thrive, and are allowed to enjoy the fruits of their industry, while many of them still recollect the cruelties and exactions of their former rulers.

This is, I feel, an unreasonable letter. But I know your friendship will not be indifferent to details in which I am so much interested; and I have not been sorry, while the novelty yet remained, to communicate to you my first impressions of a country, in all respects so unlike our own, and yet so important to an Englishman. Lord Hastings appears to have been very popular here, and to have done much good. The roads which he made in different parts of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, his splendour, and his extreme courtesy, made him liked both by natives and Europeans.

Adieu, dear Wynn. Present our mutual best regards to Mrs. Williams Wynn and your young folk, and believe me ever,

Your obliged and affectionate friend,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

*Fort-William, December* 1, 1823.

MY DEAR WYNN,

* * * * *

I hope you will, ere this reaches you, have received a long letter from Barrackpoor, giving an account of my first impressions of India. By all which I have yet seen, I do not think they were too favourable. The climate, since I wrote, has very materially improved, and is now scarcely hotter, and to the full as pleasant as our finest August weather. The mornings and evenings are particularly agreeable; and the sun, during the day-time, though still too hot to admit of taking exercise, is any thing but oppressive to

those who are sitting still under a roof, or driving in a carriage. The only plague, and a sore plague too, are the musquitos.

* * * * *

I am constantly, and sometimes intensely occupied, insomuch that I have as yet had no time whatever for my usual literary pursuits, and scarcely any for the study of Hindoostanee and Persian; or the composition of sermons, of which last, unluckily, owing to a mistake, my main stock was sent by another ship which has not yet arrived, so that I have more trouble in this way than I expected, or than is very consistent with my other duties.

Since my last letter, I have become acquainted with some of the wealthy natives, of whom I spoke, and we are just returned from passing the evening at one of their country-houses. This is more like an Italian villa, than what one should have expected as the residence of Baboo Hurree Mohun Thakoor. Nor are his carriages, the furniture of his house, or the style of his conversation, of a character less decidedly European. He is a fine old man, who speaks English well, is well informed on most topics of general discussion, and talks with the appearance of much familiarity on Franklin, chemistry, natural philosophy, &c. His family is brahminical and of singular purity of descent; but about 400 years ago, during the Mahommedan invasion of India, one of his ancestors having become polluted by the conquerors intruding into his Zennanah, the race is conceived to have lost claim to the knotted cord, and the more rigid brahmins will not eat with them. Being, however, one of the principal landholders in Bengal, and of a family so ancient, they still enjoy to a great degree the veneration of the common people, which the present head of the house appears to value,—since I can hardly reconcile in any other manner his philosophical studies and imitation of many European habits, with the daily and austere devotion which he is said to practise towards the Ganges, (in which he bathes three times every twenty-four hours,) and his veneration for all the other duties of his ancestors. He is now said, however, to be aiming at the dignity of Raja, a title which

at present bears pretty nearly the same estimation here as a peerage in England, and is conferred by government in almost the same manner.

The house is surrounded by an extensive garden, laid out in formal parterres of roses, intersected by straight walks, with some fine trees, and a chain of tanks, fountains, and summer-houses, not ill adapted to a climate where air, water, and sweet smells, are almost the only natural objects which can be relished during the greater part of the year. The whole is little less Italian than the façade of his house, but on my mentioning this similarity, he observed that the taste for such things was brought into India by the Mussulmans. There are also swings, whirligigs, and other amusements for the females of his family, but the strangest was a sort of "Montagne Russe" of masonry, very steep, and covered with plaster, down which he said the ladies used to *slide.* Of these females, however, we saw none,—indeed they were all staying at his town-house in Calcutta. He himself received us at the head of a whole tribe of relations and descendants on a handsome flight of steps, in a splendid shawl, by way of mantle, with a large rosary of coral set in gold, leaning on an ebony crutch with a gold head. Of his grandsons, four very pretty boys, two were dressed like English children of the same age, but the round hat, jacket, and trowsers, by no means suited their dusky skins so well as the splendid brocade caftans and turbans covered with diamonds, which the two elder wore. On the whole, both Emily and I have been greatly interested with the family, both now and during our previous interviews. We have several other eastern acquaintance, but none of equal talent, though several learned Moollahs, and one Persian doctor, of considerable reputed sanctity, have called on me. The Raja of Calcutta, and one of the sons of Tippoo Sultan, do not choose, I am told, to call till I have left the fort, since they are not permitted to bring their silver-sticks, led-horses, carriages, and armed attendants within the ramparts. In all this, nothing strikes me more than the apparent indifference of these men to the mea-

sures employed for extending Christianity, and rendering it more conspicuous in Hindostan. They seem to think it only right and decent that the conquering nation should have its hierarchy and establishment on a handsome scale, and to regard with something little short of approbation, the means we take for instructing the children of the poor. One of their men of rank has absolutely promised to found a college at Burdwan, with one of our missionaries at its head, and where little children should be clothed and educated under his care. All this is very short indeed of embracing Christianity themselves, but it proves how completely those feelings are gone by, in Bengal at least, which made even the presence of a single missionary the occasion of tumult and alarm. I only hope that no imprudence, or over-forwardness on our part, will revive these angry feelings.

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Believe me, dear Charles,

Ever your obliged friend,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO MISS DOD.

*Calcutta, Dec.* 15, 1823.

I have been very busy, busier indeed than I ever was before, except during the Oxford election; * *

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The country, the society, and, at this season of the year, the climate are all very agreeable, and there are several amiable and excellent people here, who have shewn us much and cordial kindness, and whose friendship would, in any country, be a valuable privilege. Of the country we have as yet seen little,

except in one voyage up the river, and in the vicinity of Calcutta. But all Bengal is described to us as like those parts which we have seen, a vast alluvial plain, intersected by the innumerable arms of the Ganges, overflowed once a year, but now covered with fields of rice, divided by groves of tall fruit trees, with villages under their shelter, swarming with a population beyond any thing which Europe can shew, and scarcely to be paralleled in China. Calcutta, when seen from the south, on which side it is built round two sides of a great open plain, with the Ganges on the west, is a very noble city, with tall and stately houses ornamented with Grecian pillars, and each, for the most part, surrounded by a little apology for a garden. The churches are not large, but very neat and even elegant buildings, and the Government House is, to say the least of it, a more shewy palace than London has to produce. These are, however, the *front lines;* behind them ranges the native town, deep, black and dingy, with narrow crooked streets, huts of earth baked in the sun, or of twisted bamboos, interspersed here and there with ruinous brick bazars, pools of dirty water, coco-trees, and little gardens, and a few very large, very fine, and generally very dirty houses of Grecian architecture, the residence of wealthy natives. There are some mosques of pretty architecture, and very neatly kept, and some pagodas, but mostly ruinous and decayed, the religion of the people being chiefly conspicuous in their worship of the Ganges, and in some ugly painted wooden or plaster idols, with all manner of heads and arms, which are set up in different parts of the city. Fill up this outline with a crowd of people in the streets, beyond any thing to be seen even in London, some dressed in tawdry silks and brocades, more in white cotton garments, and most of all black and naked, except a scanty covering round the waist, besides figures of religious mendicants with no clothing but their long hair and beards in elf locks, their faces painted white or yellow, their beads in one ghastly lean hand, and the other stretched out like a bird's claw to receive donations; marriage processions, with the bride in a covered chair, and the

bridegroom on horseback, so swathed round with garlands as hardly to be seen; tradesmen sitting on the ground in the midst of their different commodities, and old men, lookers on, perched naked as monkeys on the flat roofs of the houses; carts drawn by oxen and driven by wild-looking men with thick sticks, so unmercifully used as to undeceive perfectly all our notions of brahminical humanity; attendants with silver maces, pressing through the crowd before the carriage of some great man or other; no women seen except of the lowest class, and even these with heavy silver ornaments on their dusky arms and ancles; while coaches, covered up close with red cloth, are seen conveying the inmates of the neighbouring seraglios to take what is called "the air;" a constant creaking of cart wheels, which are never greased in India, a constant clamour of voices, and an almost constant thumping and jingling of drums, cymbals, &c. in honour of some of their deities; and add to all this a villainous smell of garlic, rancid coco-nut oil, sour butter, and stagnant ditches, and you will understand the sounds, sights, and smells of what is called the "Black Town" of Calcutta. The singularity of this spectacle is best and least offensively enjoyed on a noble quay which Lord Hastings built along the shore of the river, where the vessels of all forms and sizes, Arab, Indian, Malay, American, English, the crowds of brahmins and other Hindoos washing and saying their prayers; the lighted tapers which, towards sun-set, they throw in, and the broad bright stream which sweeps them by, guiltless of their impiety and unconscious of their homage, afford a scene such as no European and few Asiatic cities can at all parallel in interest and singularity.

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Great state, of a certain kind, is still kept up, not only by the Governor-General (who has most of the usual appendages of a sovereign, such as body-guards, gold-sticks, spear-men, peacocks' plumes, state carriages, state barge, and elephants,) but by all the principal persons in authority. You would laugh to see me carried by four men in a palanqueen, two more following as a relay, two

silver maces carried before me, and another man with a huge painted umbrella at my side; or to see Emily returning from a party, with the aforesaid silver maces, or sometimes four of them behind her carriage, a groom at each horse's head, and four men running before with glass lanthorns. Yet our establishment is as modest and humble as the habits of the place will allow.

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After all, this state has nothing very dazzling in it; a crowd of half-naked followers is no splendid shew, and the horses, the equipages, and the furniture of Calcutta, are all as far from magnificent as any that I am acquainted with. Our way of life in other respects is sensible and suited to the climate. The general custom is to rise at six in the cold season, and at half-past four in the morning during the hot weather, and to take exercise on horseback till the sun is hot, then follow a cold bath, prayers, and breakfast. This last is a sort of public meal, when my clergy and other friends drop in, after which I am generally engaged in business till two, when we either dine, or eat our tiffin; we then go out again at five or six, till darkness drives us home to dress for dinner, or pass a tranquil evening. Our rooms are large and lofty, with very little furniture; the beds have no drapery but a musquito net, and now the climate is so cool as even to require a blanket.

We have excellent turf for gallopping and excellent roads for driving on the great plain of which I have spoken. But there is no necessity for confining ourselves to it, the roads round Calcutta as soon as its boundary is passed, wind through beautiful villages, overhung with the finest and most picturesque foliage the world can shew, of the banyan, the palm, the tamarind, and, more beautiful perhaps than all, the bamboo. Sometimes the glade opens to plains covered, at this time, with the rice harvest, or to a sight of the broad bright river, with its ships and woody shores; sometimes it contracts into little winding tracks, through fruit-trees, gardens, and cottages; the gardens fenced in with hedges of aloe and pine-apple; the cottages neater than those of Calcutta, and mostly of

mats and white wicker-work, with thatched roofs and cane verandahs, with gourds trailing over them, and the broad tall plaintains clustering round them. Adieu.

Yours most faithfully,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO THE VERY REVEREND THE DEAN OF ST. ASAPH.

*Fort-William, December* 16, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR,

Long before this reaches you, you will, I trust, have received the news of our safe arrival in India, and Emily's account of our first impressions of the country, the people, and Calcutta. These impressions were, and still continue favorable.

The climate at this time of year far surpasses my expectations, and indeed if it would always continue as it is now, would be, perhaps, the finest in the world. And I find the field of useful exertion before me so great, and the probability of doing good so encouraging, that if Providence blesses us with health, I have no doubt of being as happy here as we could be any where at such a distance from our dear and excellent friends. Emily and I have, thank God, remained perfectly well through our changes of climate. Some days ago I should have had a bad report to make of our dear little girl.

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During the last week she has been almost quite herself again, but her mother has so much confidence in the sea air, and a change of air of any kind is said to be, in this country, so desirable for convalescents, that she has determined to take her down till the end of the month to the Sand-heads at the mouth of the river,—for which purpose Lord Amherst has kindly placed one of the pilot schooners

at her disposal, and, what is of still more consequence, has authorised Mr. Shaw, the assistant surgeon of the Fort, to accompany and remain with her till her return.

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At the present time this is a very fine and interesting country, and contains the capability and the probability of improvement to a degree far exceeding any thing which I had anticipated. In Bengal, indeed, as you are aware, there is no mountain, nor so much as a single hill, and the prospect has no other beauty but what arises from water, wood, and a richly cultivated plain, inhabited by a population exceeding all which I know in Europe, and apparently falling little short of all which we read of in China. Yet these circumstances, joined to the apparent simplicity of the people, their singular customs and architecture, the beauty and clearness of the sky, and the richness and majesty of the vegetable creation, make our rides and drives here very interesting, particularly those which are taken on horseback through glade and copse and hamlet, and rice-fields, under the shadow of banyans, bamboos, tamarinds, and cocos. It is in the course of these rides that I generally visit the village schools, which are now numerous and flourishing under the care of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Church Missionary Society; of the institution and success of which I had a very inadequate notion before I arrived in India, and which I believe are but little known even at the present moment in England. Hearing all I had heard of the prejudices of the Hindoos and Mussulmans, I certainly did not at all expect to find that the common people would not only without objection, but with the greatest thankfulness, send their children to schools on Bell's system; and they seem to be fully sensible of the advantages conferred by writing, arithmetic, and, above all, by a knowledge of English.

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There are now in Calcutta, and the surrounding villages, twenty boys' schools, containing from 60 to 120 each; and twenty-three girls'

each of twenty-five or thirty. The latter are under the management of a very clever young woman, who came out under the patronage of the Lancasterian School Society, but, in consequence of their having pledged themselves to allow no Scripture lessons in their schools, and her preferring the system pursued by the Church of England, they withdrew her salary, and she must have left the country, had she not been fortunately taken up by the Church Missionary Society, one of whose missionaries she has since married. This branch of education is, however, now about to be put on a different footing. Some of the Hindoos objected to men at all interfering in the girls' schools, or even that the school should be in the same building where men reside. We are, therefore, going to build a separate house for the school, which, with all the female schools established, or to be established in India, is to be managed by a committee of ladies. Lady Amherst has taken the office of patroness, and Emily, with several other ladies in Calcutta, are to form a committee. I have no doubt that things will go on prosperously if we can only get funds sufficient for the demand on us. The difficulties of Mrs. Wilson's undertaking, and the wonders she has brought about, will be better understood when I mention, that two years ago, no single native female in Bengal could either write, read, or sew, that the notion of teaching them these things, or of sending them to schools where they ran the risk of mixing with, and touching those of different castes, was, at first, regarded in about the same light as it would be in England to send a girl to learn tumbling and rope-dancing at Sadler's Wells, and that even those who were most anxious for the improvement of the natives, and knew most of India, spoke of her as undertaking impossibilities. Mrs. Wilson's first care was to get a pretty good knowledge both of Hindoostanee and the vulgar Bengalee; her next, to circulate her proposals in these languages, urging on parents the advantages which their daughters would derive from her instructions, as servants, mothers, and mistresses of families, promising a strict regard to caste, and urging that, whether they became Christians

or no, it would do them no harm to become acquainted with the European shaster, and the rules of conduct which Europeans professed to follow towards each other. She went about a good deal herself among the wealthy native families, persuaded some of the leading Gooroos, or religious teachers, to honour her school with their presence and inspection, and all now goes on smoothly. Rhadacant Deb, one of the wealthiest natives in Calcutta, and regarded as the most austere and orthodox of the worshippers of the Ganges, bade, some time since, her pupils go on and prosper; and added, that " if they practised the Sermon on the Mount, as well as they repeated it, he would choose all the handmaids for his daughters, and his wives, from the English school." I do not say, nor do I suppose, that any large proportion of these children will become Christians. Even if they were to offer it now, we should tell them, " Wait till you are of age, and get your father's leave:" and it is likely that many, on leaving school, will leave many of their good impressions behind them. But it is certain, that, whether they become Christians or no, they may be great gainers by what they learn; and it is probable that some, at least, in the present generation, and probably far more among *their* children, will be led to compare our system with their own, and seriously, and in a real zeal for their own salvation, to adopt the truth. In the mean time, I am assured that the pains now taken have materially increased the popularity of the English in Bengal. The peasants cannot help perceiving that the persons who mix with them for these purposes, have their worldly as well as spiritual interest at heart. The children like the rewards, the clothing, and the praise which they receive; and in districts where, I am assured, three years ago, at the sight of an European they all ran away screaming to hide themselves, the clergymen and missionaries engaged in the superintendance of these little establishments are now as well known and as well received as an English pastor in his parish. Our chief hindrances are some deistical brahmins, who have left their old religion, and desire to found a sect of their own,

and some of those who are professedly engaged in the same work with ourselves, the Dissenters. These last are, indeed, very civil, and affect to rejoice at our success; but they, some how or other, cannot help interfering, and setting up rival schools close to ours; and they apparently find it easier to draw off our pupils, than to look out for fresh and more distant fields of exertion and enterprize.

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My principal labour here is in the multitude of letters from the Archdeacons, the Chaplains, the charitable institutions, the Supreme Government, and the inferior Governments of Madras and Bombay, which I have constantly to read and answer. Besides my official Secretary, I am obliged to keep a native Amanuensis, and as every thing connected with Churches, Chaplains, Missionaries, and Schoolmasters, passes through my hands, or is referred to me by Government, besides my being visitor of Bishop's College, and agent to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I find myself daily in a sort of business in which I have much to learn, and in which I certainly take no great pleasure. I have this morning, for instance, and yesterday evening, had to answer four letters about the rate of exchange between Calcutta and England, and the expediency of drawing bills on the latter to pay the College debts; and I have just finished reading a long sheet of queries from the Secretary to Government, respecting some ecclesiastical buildings, their expense, workmanship, &c., which will take some time and many previous enquiries to answer properly. All this will, however, I doubt not, become familiar to me by degrees; and I only regret it now, because it completely hinders the composition of my sermons, and very materially retards my acquisition of the Oriental languages. On the political state and prospects of India, as they at present appear to me, I hope to write another letter. It is an extensive and not uninteresting subject, and one, which I think is not generally understood in Europe.

*December* 17.

I rejoice to send a good account of both my Emilies, whom I accompanied some way down the river yesterday, and left very comfortably accommodated.

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This letter will go by the purser of the Grenville, who is not yet set off. Captain Manning went yesterday, having taken charge of Emily and her little girl as far as the Sand-heads; they are to be very little on shore, but are to cruize about the roads during the day, and return at night to anchor.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Ever your obliged and affectionate

Reginald Calcutta.

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TO R. J. WILMOT HORTON, ESQ.

*Calcutta, December,* 1823.

My dear Wilmot,

The speed of our voyage in the Grenville, by landing us in India some weeks before the time at which we might have been expected to arrive there, has been productive of one uncomfortable effect, by making us appear so much the longer without letters from England. Only one Liverpool vessel has since arrived, which was not of a date previous to the time of our own sailing, and she brought papers only a very few days more recent than ours. Reports, however, have from time to time been raised, of vessels supposed from Europe, seen working up towards Saugor; and you may well conceive the eagerness with which we have, on such occasions, anticipated the arrival of those bundles of information and kind wishes which form the delight of an English post-day, and to us, on the Ganges, would be, I cannot say how interesting. The

Grenville, however, is now about to sail again, and I take advantage of her return to remind those valued friends who may, possibly, not yet have written to us, how much their correspondence allays the pain of absence.

This is a fine country, and, at this time of year, a very fine climate. We have, indeed, no mountains, not even an elevation so high as the mount in Kensington Gardens, which I recollect the more, because in them was my last ramble with yourself and Hay. We have no springs, no running streams except the Ganges, and we have not much of open plain and dry turf. But we have wood and water in abundance; the former of the noblest description of foliage which I have ever seen, both in form, verdure, variety, and depth of shadow. I had no idea of the beauty and majesty of an Indian wood: the coloured prints which I had seen in England being as unlike the sober richness of the reality as the bloom of Mrs. Salmon's wax-work goddesses to Mrs. ——— Nor, to those who like wandering about an immense conservatory, or who are pleased and interested with cane-work cottages, little gardens of plaintains and pine-apples, and the sight of a very poor but simple, and by no means inelegant race of peasants, are there prettier rides than those afforded by the lanes and hedgerows round Calcutta. The mornings from five to eight, are now equal to the pleasantest time of year in England; then follow about eight hours, during which a man does well to remain in the house, but which, under such circumstances, are not too hot either for comfort or any kind of mental exertion; and from four to dark it is again about the temperature of our summer evening. This is, indeed, the best time of year. Of the rains and the hot winds every body speaks with very alarming eloquence; and I apprehend that, during their continuance, a bare existence is all that any man can hope for. We had some little of these last on our first arrival, but not sufficient to prevent our morning and evening airings. They were, however, sufficiently potent to induce us to believe all which had been told us of the necessity of cool clothing, cool diet, and quietness.

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Of the people of this country, and the manner in which they are governed, I have, as yet, hardly seen enough to form an opinion. I have seen enough, however, to find that the customs, the habits, and prejudices of the former are much misunderstood in England. We have all heard, for instance, of the humanity of the Hindoos towards brute creatures, their horror of animal food, &c.; and you may be, perhaps, as much surprised as I was, to find that those who can afford it are hardly less carnivorous than ourselves; that even the purest brahmins are allowed to eat mutton, and venison; that fish is permitted to many castes, and pork to many others, and that, though they consider it as a grievous crime to kill a cow or bullock for the purpose of eating, yet they treat their draft oxen, no less than their horses, with a degree of barbarous severity which would turn an English hackney-coachman sick. Nor have their religious prejudices, and the unchangeableness of their habits, been less exaggerated. Some of the best-informed of their nation, with whom I have conversed, assure me that half their most remarkable customs of civil and domestic life are borrowed from their Mohammedan conquerors; and at present there is an obvious and increasing disposition to imitate the English in every thing, which has already led to very remarkable changes, and will, probably, to still more important. The wealthy natives now all affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars, and filled with English furniture. They drive the best horses and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta. Many of them speak English fluently, and are tolerably read in English literature; and the children of one of our friends I saw one day dressed in jackets and trowsers, with round hats, shoes and stockings. In the Bengalee newspapers, of which there are two or three, politics are canvassed with a bias, as I am told, inclining to Whiggism, and one of their leading men gave a great dinner not long since, in honour of the Spanish Revolution. Among the lower orders the same feeling shews itself more beneficially, in a growing neglect of *caste*,—

in not merely a willingness, but an anxiety, to send their children to our schools, and a desire to learn and speak English, which, if properly encouraged, might, I verily believe, in fifty years time, make our language what the *Oordoo,* or *court* and *camp* language of the country (the Hindoostanee,) is at present. And though instances of actual conversion to Christianity are, as yet, very uncommon, yet the number of children, both male and female, who are now receiving a sort of Christian education, reading the New Testament, repeating the Lord's Prayer and Commandments, and all with the consent, or at least without the censure, of their parents or spiritual guides, have increased, during the last two years, to an amount which astonishes the old European Residents, who were used to tremble at the name of a missionary, and shrink from the common duties of Christianity, lest they should give offence to their heathen neighbours. So far from that being a consequence of the zeal which has been lately shewn, many of the Brahmins themselves express admiration of the morality of the Gospel, and profess to entertain a better opinion of the English since they have found that they too have a religion and a Shaster. All that seems necessary for the best effects to follow is, to let things take their course, to make the missionaries discreet, to keep the Government as it now is, strictly neuter, and to place our confidence in a general diffusion of knowledge, and in making ourselves really useful to the temporal as well as spiritual interests of the people among whom we live. In all these points there is, indeed, great room for improvement. I do not by any means assent to the pictures of depravity and general worthlessness which some have drawn of the Hindoos. They are decidedly, by nature, a mild, pleasing, and intelligent race; sober, parsimonious, and, where an object is held out to them, most industrious and persevering. But the magistrates and lawyers all agree, that in no country are lying and perjury so common, and so little regarded. Notwithstanding the apparent mildness of their manners, the criminal calendar is generally as full as in Ireland, with gang-robberies, setting fire to

buildings, stacks, &c. &c.; and the number of children who are decoyed aside, and murdered, for the sake of their ornaments, Lord Amherst assures me, is dreadful. Yet in all these points a gradual amelioration is said to be perceptible; and I am assured that there is no ground whatever for the assertion, that the people are become less innocent or prosperous under British administration. In Bengal, at least in this neighbourhood, I am assured by the missionaries, who, as speaking the language, and associating with the lower classes, are by far the best judges, that the English Government is popular. They are, in fact, lightly taxed, (though that taxation is clumsily arranged, and liable to considerable abuse, from the extortions of the native Aûmeens and Chokeydars;) they have no military conscription, or forced services; they live in great security from the march of armies, &c. and, above all, they some of them recollect in their own country, and all of them may hear or witness in the case of their neighbours in Oude and the Birman empire, how very differently all these things are managed under the Hindoo and Mahommedan sovereignties.

One very wise and liberal measure of Government has been, the appropriation of all the internal transit duties to the construction of roads and bridges, and the improvement of the towns where they are levied. A more popular, however, and I believe better policy, would have been to remit those duties altogether. They are precisely the things in which the Chokeydars, and other underlings, are most fraudulent and oppressive. Twice as much is extorted by these fellows from the poor country people as they are authorized to receive, and of what is authorized, only a moderate part finds its way into the Company's coffers. Under such circumstances it might, perhaps, be better to remove all restraints from internal intercourse and traffic, to make the people industrious and prosperous, and to be assured that improvements would follow by degrees, in proportion as they became necessary or desirable. Lord Cornwallis's famous settlement of the Zemindary rents in Bengal, is often severely censured here, as not sufficiently protect-

ing the ryuts, and depriving the Government of all advantage from the improvements of the territory. They who reason thus, have, apparently, forgotten that, without some such settlement, those improvements would never have taken place at all; that almost every Zemindary which is brought to the hammer (and they are pretty numerous) is divided and subdivided, each successive sale, among smaller proprietors, and that the progress is manifestly going on to a minute division of the soil among the actual cultivators, and subject to no other burdens than a fixed and very moderate quit rent, a state of things by no means undesirable in a nation, and which only needs to be corrected in its possible excess by a law of primogeniture, and by encouraging, instead of forbidding, the purchase of lands by the English. On the desireableness of this last measure, as the most probable means of improving the country and attaching the peasantry to our Government,—I find, in Calcutta, little difference of opinion. All the restriction which seems necessary is, that the collectors of the Company's taxes shall not be allowed to purchase lands within the limits of their districts: and if the same law were extended to their Hindoo and Mussulman deputies, a considerable source of oppression, which now exists, would be dried up or greatly mitigated.

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TO JOHN THORNTON, ESQ.

*Tittyghur, January* 9, 1824.

MY DEAR THORNTON,

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I do not think, indeed, that the direct duties of this diocese, bating the visitations, are more than a man may do with a moderate share of diligence. . . . . . . .

They are such, however, as I must do all for myself, since though I keep a native scribe at work from nine till four daily, he can only be trusted to copy what I write, while it is necessary for me to obtain and keep copies of all the official correspondence in which I am a party ; besides which, an intercourse with chaplains, missionaries, and religious societies is, in India, all carried on by letter, and what in England would be settled in a few minutes by personal communication, is here the subject of long arguments, explanations, and rejoinders in writing. I at first, therefore, had occasion to work pretty hard, and am now so fortunate as to be completely rid of all arrears of business, and to find myself equal to the daily calls of my correspondents, without so completely sacrificing all other studies, as I was for some time compelled to do. Still I am without books, and what has been still more inconvenient, without sermons, so that I have been latterly obliged to compose often two, and sometimes three a week, amid greater distractions, and with fewer opportunities of study or reference than I ever before had to complain of. I continue well, however, thank God! and have abundant reason at present to be hopeful and contented in my situation, where I meet with much attention and kindness, and where the apparent field of usefulness is so great that, while I deeply feel my own insufficiency, I am more and more impressed with the undeserved goodness of God in calling me to such a situation.

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To the affairs of the Church Missionary society I have paid considerable attention, and have great reason to be satisfied with the manner in which they are conducted, as well as personally with the committee, and all the Missionaries whom I have seen. I have, as you are perhaps aware, obtained their adoption of some changes in the constitution of the society, qualified, I hope, to put us on a more stable and popular footing, and to obtain for us both at home and in India a greater notoriety and usefulness.

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Pray tell Mr. Parry that all which I have seen of India justifies his praises of it. It is a fine and most interesting country. The European society is agreeable, hospitable, and well informed; there are many excellent people in Calcutta.

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But, alas! new friends cannot be like old, new lands cannot be like home! And while I should be the most thankless of men not to be contented and happy here, I cannot help often wishing for a sight of the hill above Hodnet, or the new fence which I left you and Mrs. Thornton contriving at Clapham.

No orders have yet come out from Government respecting a residence for me. . . . . . Dr. Wallich has lent us his house at Tittyghur between Calcutta and Barrackpoor, a delightful place, which apparently agrees with our little girl perfectly. The fort from closeness, and other reasons connected with closeness, is said to be often injurious to young and delicate persons; but without its rampart we would fain flatter ourselves even children may enjoy good health in this country, and some years at least may elapse before we are compelled to send ours to England. . . . May God hear our prayers, and those, which it is one of my chief comforts to believe, are offered up for us by our dear friends in England. God Almighty bless you,

ever your affectionate friend,

Reginald Calcutta.

It was my intention till lately to set out by land for the upper provinces as soon as Emily was able to travel, and to stay at Ghazeepoor, a little on this side Benares, during the hot winds. In this expedition Archdeacon Corrie promised to accompany me, but a reconsideration of all which I am doing, and have to do at Calcutta, has convinced me that I cannot be spared before the rains, when also I hope for Mr. Corrie's company. The want of episcopal visitation, confirmation, &c. in all those vast districts is said to be great.

TO THE HONOURABLE MRS. DOUGLAS.

*Tittyghur, January* 10, 1824.

Wherever the Ganges is there is beauty; and even those who are most sensible to the beauties of English scenery may allow that while the peepul, the teak, and the other larger round-topped trees will bear no disadvantageous comparison with our oaks, elms, and limes; the mangoe and tamarind greatly surpass in beauty our walnut and cherry-trees, and we have nothing at all answerable to the banyan, the bamboo, the different species of palms, or the plantains, aloes, cactus, and ananas, by which the cottages are surrounded . . . . . . The plains between these groves are all cultivated with rice, and have, at this time of year, pretty much the appearance of an English stubble. When we first arrived the rice was like our corn in spring; but as the ground dried, and the crop ripened, it assumed a more autumnal appearance, though never so bright and golden as our wheat.

Of the fruits of India we had formed high expectations: the mangoe, which is the most celebrated, has not been in season since our arrival; but the rest, such of them at least as are peculiar to the country, have much disappointed us. The oranges are, I think, the best; but they are not better than what are sent to London from the Mediterranean and the western isles. I will make an exception in favour of the coco-nut when unripe, at which time its milk is very refreshing, and far better than we get it in England. Nor are many of the native vegetables agreeable to an English palate; though any body may easily get reconciled to yams, brinjals, and sweet potatoes. At this time of year, however, most European vegetables are brought to market in abundance, and very good, though cultivated for the consumption of Europeans only, the natives liking none of them but potatoes, which, though they have only known them during the last few years, are likely soon to rank as a supplementary staff of life, with rice and plantains. The peasants near Patna already grow them to a considerable extent; but they never

can become the *exclusive* crop here, inasmuch as the moist rice-grounds do not suit their growth, which will therefore be confined to the sandy and drier soils, where rice cannot grow, and where such a vegetable may be of unmixed utility; while such a supplementary crop, in case of the rice failing, may prevent many a famine, and diminish one strong point of the similarity which now exists between the Indian and Irish peasantry, their reliance on a single article of food, and the almost infinite division and subdivision of their farms, which here, as in Ireland, is a fertile source of poverty and wretchedness.

On the whole they are a lively, intelligent, and interesting people: of the upper classes, a very considerable proportion learn our language, read our books and our newspapers, and shew a desire to court our society; the peasants are anxious to learn English, and though, certainly, very few of them have as yet embraced Christianity, I do not think their reluctance is more than might have been expected in any country, where a system so entirely different from that previously professed, was offered, and offered by those of whom as their conquerors, they may well entertain considerable jealousy. Their own religion is, indeed, a horrible one; far more so than I had conceived; it gives them no moral precepts; it encourages them in vice by the style of its ceremonies, and the character given of its deities; and by the institution of caste, it hardens their hearts against each other to a degree which is often most revolting. A traveller falls down sick in the streets of a village, (I am mentioning a fact which happened ten days ago,) nobody knows what caste he is of, therefore nobody goes near him lest they should become polluted; he wastes to death before the eyes of a whole community, unless the jackalls take courage from his helpless state to finish him a little sooner, and, perhaps, as happened in the case to which I alluded, the children are allowed to pelt him with stones and mud. The man of whom I am speaking was found in this state and taken care of by a passing European, but if he had

died, his skeleton would have lain in the streets till the vultures carried it away, or the magistrates ordered it to be thrown into the river.

A friend of mine, some months ago, found a miserable wretch a groom out of employ, who had crept, sick of a dysentery, into his court-yard. He had there remained in a corner on the pavement two days and nights. Perhaps twenty servants had been eating their meals daily within six yards of him, yet none had relieved him, none had so much as carried him into the shelter of one of the outhouses, nor had any taken the trouble to tell their master. When reproved for this, their answer was, "he was not our kinsman;" "Whose business was it?" "How did we know that the Sahib would like to be troubled?" I do not say that these are every day instances. I hope and believe not; nor would I be understood as denying that alms are, to religious mendicants, given to a great amount in Bengal, or that several of the wealthy inhabitants, in what they consider good works, such as constructing public tanks, making roads to places of pilgrimage, building pagodas and ghâts, are liberal. I only mention these instances because none of those who heard them seemed to think them unusual or extraordinary; because in a Christian country I think they could not have happened, and because they naturally arise from the genius of the national religion, which, by the distinction which it establishes, makes men worse than indifferent to each other. Accordingly many of the crimes which fall under the cognizance of the magistrate, and many of the ancient and sanctified customs of the Hindoos, are marked with great cruelty. The Decoits, or gangs of robbers, who are common all over the country, though they seldom attack Europeans, continually torture to force the peasants to bring out their little treasures.

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I need say nothing of the burning of widows, but it is not so generally known that persons now alive remember human sacrifices

in the holy places near Calcutta; and that a very respectable man of my acquaintance, himself by accident and without the means of interfering, witnessed one of a boy of fourteen or fifteen, in which nothing was so terrible as the perfect indifference with which the tears, prayers, and caresses even, which the poor victim lavished on his murderers, were regarded. After this it is hardly worth while to go on to shew that crimes of rapine, and violence, and theft are very common, or that the tendency to lying is such that (as one of the judges here observed) "in a court of justice they cannot even tell a true story without spoiling it." But what I would chiefly urge is, that for all these horrors their system of religion is mainly answerable, inasmuch as whatever moral lessons their sacred books contain, and they are very few, are shut up from the mass of the people, while the direct tendency of their institutions is to evil. The national temper is decidedly good, gentle, and kind; they are sober, industrious, affectionate to their relations, generally speaking faithful to their masters, easily attached by kindness and confidence, and in the case of the military oath, are of admirable obedience, courage, and fidelity in life and death. But their morality does not extend beyond the reach of positive obligations; and where these do not exist, they are oppressive, cruel, treacherous, and every thing that is bad. We have heard much in England of their humanity to animals, I can only say that I have seen no tokens of it in Calcutta.

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Their high reputation in such matters has arisen, I am assured, from exaggerated statements of particular instances, such as may happen in any country, of overstrained tenderness for animal life, and from the fact that certain sacred animals, such as the bulls dedicated to Brahma, are really treated with as much tenderness and consideration as if they were Brahmins themselves. As yet it

remains to be seen how far the schools may produce a change for the better. I am inclined to hope every thing from them, particularly from those which Mrs. Wilson has, under the auspices of the Church Missionaries, set on foot for females; but I am sure that a people such as I have described, with so many amiable traits of character, and so great natural quickness and intelligence, ought to be assisted and encouraged as far as we possibly can in the disposition which they now evince, in this part of the country at least, to acquire a knowledge of our language and laws, and to imitate our habits and examples. By all which I have learned, they now really believe we wish them well, and are desirous of their improvement; and there are many points (that of the burning widows is one) in which a change for the better is taking place in the public mind, which, if we are not in too great a hurry, will probably, ere long, break down the observance of, at least, one horror. Do not suppose that I am prejudiced against the Hindoos. In my personal intercourse with them I have seen much to be pleased with, and all which I hear and believe as to what they might be with a better Creed, makes me the more earnest in stating the horrors for which their present Creed, as I think, is answerable.

This is an unmerciful letter, but I hope and believe that I shall not have wearied you. Both Emily and I often think and talk of you, and recall to mind, with deep and affectionate interest, our parting on the quarter-deck of the Grenville, with you and your brothers.

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We more and more feel how much we have relinquished in leaving such friends behind; but I do not, and I hope Emily does not, repent of our undertaking. So long as we are blessed with health, and of this, with due care, I entertain at present few apprehensions, we have, indeed, abundant reason for content and thankfulness around us, and where there is so much

to be learned and to be done, life cannot well hang heavy on the hands of

Dear Harriet,

Ever your affectionate Cousin,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

I believe I have said nothing of the Mahommedans, who are about as numerous here as the Protestants are in Ireland. They are in personal appearance a finer race than the Hindoos; they are also more universally educated, and on the whole I think a better people, inasmuch as their faith is better. They are haughty and irascible, hostile to the English as to those who have supplanted them in their sovereignty over the country, and notoriously oppressive and avaricious in their dealings with their idolatrous countrymen wherever they are yet in authority. They are, or are supposed to be more honest, and to each other they are not uncharitable; but they are, I fear, less likely at present than the Hindoos to embrace Christianity, though some of them read our Scriptures; and I have heard one or two speak of Christians as of nearly the same religion with themselves. They have, however, contracted in this country many superstitions of castes and images, for which their western brethren, the Turks and Arabs, are ready to excommunicate them; and, what is more strange, many of them, equally in opposition to their own religion and that of the Hindoos, are exceeding drunkards.

TO MRS. HEBER.

*Tittyghur, January* 25, 1824.

My dearest Mother,

Our former packets will, I trust, before this time, have communicated to you the intelligence of our safe arrival, and of our subsequent proceedings.

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Calcutta is a very striking place, but it so much resembles Petersburgh, though on a less splendid scale, that I can hardly help fancying myself sometimes in Russia. The architecture of the principal houses is the same, with Italian porticos, and all white-washed or stuccoed, and the width and straightness of the principal streets, the want of pavement, the forms of the peasants' carts, and the crowds of foot-passengers in every street, as well as the multitude of servants, the want of furniture in the houses, and above all, the great dinner-parties which are one distinguishing feature of the place, are all Muscovite.

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The public here is very liberal, but the calls on charity are continual, and the number of five and ten pound subscriptions which are required of a man every month, for inundations, officers' widows, &c. &c. are such as surprise an Englishman on his first arrival, though he cannot but be pleased at the spirit which it evinces. . . . . . . . .

I am happy to set you at ease about pirates. There were, as you have been rightly informed, four or five years ago, a good many Arab pirates in the Bombay seas, but none that I have heard of ever ventured into the bay of Bengal, and even those who did exist are said to have been completely driven from the sea by the expedition which was sent some time back from Bombay against

the Arabs of the Persian gulf. But with these seas I shall have little concern, since my journeys in that quarter will be chiefly by land. Those which I have to perform in this part of India will be mostly by the Ganges, on which sculking thieves are sometimes met with, but no robbers bold enough to attack European boats. I should have much preferred marching by land the whole way, as we at first proposed, but I found it impossible to leave Calcutta before the weather would have become too hot for such a journey. At the commencement of the rains we shall set out, and boat it all the way to Cawnpoor. The boats are like houses, and as comfortable as such things well can be; but our progress, by this method, will be very tedious and wearisome, compared with the amusement of a land-journey with our tents and elephants. We shall, however, escape the rains, which is reckoned the only unhealthy season in Bengal, when every road is a puddle, and every field a marsh, and every river a sea, and when a hot sun, playing on a vast surface of water and decayed vegetables, is regarded as the cause of almost all the diseases which are not brought on by intemperance and carelessness.

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My morning rides are very pleasant; my horse is a nice quiet, good-tempered little Arab, who is so fearless that he goes, without starting, close to an elephant, and so gentle and docile that he eats bread out of my hand, and has almost as much attachment and coaxing ways as a dog. This seems the usual character of the Arab horse, who (to judge from those I have seen in this country,) is not the fiery dashing animal I had supposed, but with more rationality about him, and more apparent confidence in his rider than the generality of English horses. The latter, however, bear the highest price here, from their superior size and power of going through more work. The Indian horses are seldom good, and always ill-tempered and vicious, and it is the necessity of getting foreign horses which

makes the expence so great as you have heard, while, after all, in this climate, four horses will not do so much work as a pair in England.

Believe me, dearest Mother,

your affectionate son,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

I rejoice to hear that Mr. Puller is coming out as Chief Justice. He is a kind and worthy man, and will, I think, be very popular here, as well as be an agreeable and friendly neighbour to us.

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TO THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF ST. ASAPH.

*January* 27, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,

In my last Letter I promised you that this should be a political one. I know not after all, now that I am sitting down to the task, that I have been able to acquire any information which will be new to you, or that I am as yet qualified to speak otherwise than with great hesitation as to the real state even of a small part of this great empire. From all *external* enemies British India (now comprehending either directly or indirectly three-fourths of the whole vast peninsula,) appeared, till lately, secure. The Maharattas are completely conquered and heart-broken; the Kings of Oude and Hydrabad only hold their places at our will and pleasure, and their subjects desire nothing so much as that we should take the government of both countries into our own hands, while Russia is regarded as so distant a danger, that, during the latter years of Lord Hastings' government, and in fact to the present moment, the army of India has been allowed to melt away, and is now, as I am assured, perhaps the least numerous establishment (in comparison with the population, extent, and revenues of the countries whence

it is raised and supported,) that any civilized empire in the world can shew. It seems, however, that war with a new, and by no means despicable enemy, is now inevitable, and has indeed already begun. The King of Ava, whose territories under the name of the "Birman empire," you will see marked in all the recent maps, has been long playing the same Buonapartean game in what is called "India beyond the Ganges," (though in fact removed many hundred miles from that river,) which we have been playing in Hindostan. His dominions had, till now, been separated from ours by a line of mountains and forests, which prevented almost all intercourse either peaceable or hostile; but by the recent conquest of the country of Assam and some other mountain Rajas, he has pushed himself into the immediate neighbourhood of Bengal, and has begun to hold a language about frontiers, neutral grounds, and ancient claims of the "golden empire," which the English in India are quite unaccustomed to hear, and which it would be still more inconvenient to admit for a single moment. I believe, indeed, his actual demands are limited to a little swampy island, no more worth fighting for than that which was the cause of Fortinbras's armament. But this island, such as it is, has been in the hands of the Company, and the soubahdars of Bengal before them, time out of mind, and is also clearly on the western side of the main stream of the little river which divides the empires. Nor is this all, since in the course of the discussion some menaces have been held out, that the "golden empire" has further demands which the great moderation of its sovereign only induces him to refrain from pressing, and that all Bengal as far as Calcutta and Moorshedabad ought to be ceded to him. Lord Amherst, who, as well as the directors at home, is sufficiently anxious for peace, expected, however, that firmly and civilly saying *no*, would have been sufficient (together with placing a small garrison in the disputed island, which has, after all, been again withdrawn on account of the pestiferous air,) to preserve matters on their former footing of grumbling

and uneasy tranquillity. He has, however, been disappointed, since he heard yesterday that two Birman corps had advanced into the neutral ground of Cashar, one of which had been in consequence attacked by a small body of sepoys stationed on our frontier, and defeated with some loss, but after a resistance which shews that our new enemies are in every thing but arms and discipline far from despicable, and decidedly superior in courage and bodily strength to the generality of those to whom we have been as yet opposed in India. It is indeed possible, though barely so, that this first experience of bayonets and disciplined troops, may not have been of a nature to increase their desire for further communication of the kind. But more likely, the check has been too slight to produce such an effect on troops who are found to be brave and hardy, and a King who has been engaged in a long course of conquest, and has never met with his match till now. Should the war go on, it is some comfort to believe that we have *right* on our side. Yet it is a grievous matter that blood should be shed, and all the other horrors of an Asiatic war incurred to an extent which cannot be calculated, for a spot of ground so unhealthy, that neither English nor Birmans can live on it, and by two governments, each of whom has more territory than it can well manage. The East India Company, however, and their servants and subjects, have reason to be thankful that the "Golden Sword" slept in its scabbard while Lord Hastings was engaged with the whole forces of the empire, against the Pindarries, Mahārattas, and Nepaulese, since an inroad of the warlike barbarians would then have caused well-founded alarm to Chittagong at least, if not to Dacca and even Calcutta. The truth, however, is, that the Birmans were then occupied in the preliminary subjugation of Assam. With such a war impending, you will naturally ask, how far the British government can count on the affections of its own subjects? This is a question which it is not very easy to answer. Any thing like our European notions of loyalty or patriotism, I

fancy, is out of the case. Indeed, from the frequent changes of masters, to which all India has been long exposed, I doubt, from all which I have heard, whether the idea exists among them any otherwise than that the native soldiers are, for the most part, admirably faithful to the government (whatever it may be) which they have engaged to serve, so long as that government performs its stipulations to them; and that if a country, under a bad and oppressive government, is attacked, the invader's camp would be better supplied with provisions than if the peasants supposed that they would be losers by his success. The idea of guerillas rising to oppose a foreign enemy would never enter into the head of a Hindoo, or if any such bodies of men were formed, they would be as professed plunderers, equally formidable to all parties, or as mercenaries ready to accept pay from any who might entertain them. But among the sepoys nobody seems to apprehend a breach of faith, and, from all which I have been able to learn, the peasantry and merchants are extremely well content with us, and prefer our government very much to that of any existing Asiatic sovereign. The great increase of population in Bengal and Bahar, the number of emigrants which come thither from all parts of India, the extent of fresh ground annually brought into cultivation, and the ostentation of wealth and luxury among the people, which under the native princes no one (except the immediate servants of government) ventures to shew, seem still more convincing proofs that they are, on the whole, wisely and equitably governed. The country (as far as I have yet seen, and every body tells me it is the same through all Bengal,) is divided into estates generally of a considerable size, called "Zemindarries," from "Zemindar," a landholder, held immediately of Government, on payment of a rate which was fixed by Lord Cornwallis, and does not increase with any fresh improvement or inclosure. These lands may be sold or divided by the proprietors, remaining subject to the tax, but cannot be touched by the Government so long as the tax is paid. The great Zemin-

dars generally live in Calcutta or the other cities, where some of them have very splendid palaces, under-letting their territories to dewans, or stewards, answering to what the Scots call tacksmen, who, as well as the smaller landholders, generally occupy dingy brick buildings, with scarcely any windows, and looking a little like deserted manor-houses in England. Placed in the middle of the villages, (whose bamboo huts seem far cooler and cleaner dwellings) they are overhung with a dark and tangled shade of fruit-trees, and surrounded by stables, cow-houses, threshing-floor, circular granaries raised on posts, and the usual litter of a dirty and ill-managed farm; but the persons who reside in them are often really very wealthy, and when we meet them on horseback on a gala-day, with their trains of servants, their splendid shawls, and gold and silver trappings, might almost meet the European notion of an eastern Raja. Under them the land is divided into a multitude of small tenements, of which the cultivators are said to be often racked very high, though they are none of them attached to the soil, but may change, if aggrieved, to any landlord who is likely to use them better. Round the villages there are large orchards of mangoes, cocoa-nuts, and plaintains, together with many small crofts enclosed with fences of aloes, prickly pear, and sometimes pine-apples, and cultivated with hemp, cotton, sugar-canes, mustard, gram, and of late years with potatoes and some other kinds of European vegetables. All beyond this is rice, cultivated in large open fields annually overflowed by the Ganges or the many canals which are drawn from it, and divided into little portions, or quillets, not laid out like our corn-fields in ridge and furrow, but on a flat surface, the soil being returned to its place after the crop is dibbled in, and intersected by small ledges of earth, both to mark property and to retain the water a sufficient time on the surface. There is no pasture ground. The cattle, sheep, and goats are allowed, during the day, to pick up what they can find in the orchards, stubbles, and fallows, and along the road sides, but at night are always

fetched up and fed with gram. No manure is employed, the dung being carefully collected for fuel, (except what little is used by the devout to rub their faces and bodies with,) nor, with an occasional fallow (and this is, I understand but seldom) is any other manure required than what the bountiful river affords. I have not yet seen them at plough, but am told that their instruments are the rudest that can be conceived, and, indeed, their cattle are generally too small and weak to drag any tackle which is not extremely light and simple; yet their crops are magnificent, and the soil, though much of it has been in constant cultivation beyond the reach of history, continues of matchless fertility. No where, perhaps, in the world, is food attained in so much abundance, and with, apparently, so little labour. Few peasants work more than five or six hours in the day, and half their days are Hindoo festivals, when they will not work at all.

Rent is higher than I expected to find it; in this neighbourhood six rupees, about twelve shillings the English acre, seems an usual rate, which is a great sum among the Hindoos, and also when compared with the cheapness of provisions and labour, about sixpence being as much as a working man can earn, even as a porter, and three-pence being the pay of a labourer in husbandry, while ordinary rice is, at an average, less than a halfpenny for the weight of two pounds English. In consequence I do not apprehend that the peasantry are ill off, though, of course, they cannot live luxuriously. Fish swarm in every part of the river, and in every tank and ditch. During the wet months they may be scooped up with a hand-net in every field, and procured, at all times, at the expense of a crooked nail and a little plaintain thread. They, therefore, next to rice and plaintains, constitute the main food of the country. Animal food all the lower castes of Hindoos eat whenever they can get it, beef and veal only excepted; but, save fish, this is not often in their power. Except food, in such a climate their wants are of course but few. Very little clothing serves, and even this is more

worn from decency than necessity. They have no furniture, except a cane bedstead or two, and some earthen or copper pots; but they have a full allowance of silver ornaments, coral beads, &c., which even the lowest ranks wear to a considerable value, and which seem to imply that they are not ill off for the necessaries of life, when such superfluities are within their reach. I have not yet been able to learn the exact amount of the land-tax paid to Government. The other taxes are on cotton, mustard-oil, charcoal, and, in general, the different articles brought to market, except rice and fruit; they are not high, at least they would not be thought so in Europe; and of the whole thus collected, one half is laid out in making and repairing roads, bridges, tanks, canals, and other public works. The Company have a monopoly of salt and opium, the former being only made at the public works, the latter grown on the public domains. The former is, however, sold at a rate which, in England, we should think low, about four shillings the bushel; and the latter is chiefly for exportation. Justice is, as you are aware, administered in Calcutta by the Supreme Court, according to English law, but elsewhere by local judges appointed by the Company, from whom an appeal lies to a separate court at Calcutta, called the Sudder Dewannee, which is guided by the Hindoo and Mussulman code, drawn up by Sir W. Jones. Of the English criminal law, those Hindoos with whom I have conversed speak highly, and think it a great security to live in Calcutta where this prevails. The local judges (who are all English) are often very popular, and in general the people seem to allow that justice is honestly administered; and my informants have spoken of the advantages possessed in these respects by the Company's subjects over those of Oude, or their own former condition under the Mussulmans. In these points I have drawn my information partly from a few of the wealthy natives, who occasionally visit me, partly from my own servants, whom I have encouraged to speak on such subjects, in some small degree from what I have picked up in my

rides and walks round this place, and still more, from the different missionaries who mix with the lower classes, and speak their language more fluently than most Europeans besides. Perhaps, as I myself improve in the language, I may find that I have been in some points misinformed or mistaken, but I think the accounts which I have had seem not unlikely to be correct, and their result is decidedly favourable both as to the general condition of this country, and the spirit in which it is governed. . . . . With regard to the questions which have lately occupied a good deal of the public attention, the free press, and the power of sending back Europeans to England at pleasure, so far as these bear on the condition of the natives, and the probable tranquillity of the country, I have more to say than I have now time for. On the whole, I think it still desirable that, in this country, the newspapers should be licensed by Government, though from the increased interest which the Hindoos and Mussulmans take in politics, and the evident *fermentation* which, either for good or evil, is going on in the public mind, I do not think the measure can be long continued. But the power of deportation is, I am convinced, essential to the public peace. Many of the adventurers who come hither from Europe, are the greatest profligates the sun ever saw; men whom nothing but despotism can manage, and who, unless they were really under a despotic rule, would insult, beat, and plunder the natives without shame or pity. Even now many instances occur of insult and misconduct, for which the prospect of immediate embarkation for Europe is the most effectual precaution or remedy. It is in fact the only controul which the Company possesses over the tradesmen and ship-builders in Calcutta, and the indigo planters up the country.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Ever your obliged and affectionate,

R. Calcutta.

*Tittyghur, Jan.* 27, 1824.

TO SIR ROBERT H. INGLIS, BART.

*Tittyghur, January 27, 1824.*

My dear Inglis,

I have not now time to write more than a few lines, yet I think you will not be sorry to hear of our well-doing.

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Out of the fort and streets of Calcutta, which are, and always must be, "black holes," the climate of India is, at this season, really delightful, and scarcely to be equalled, I think, by any which Europe can offer. But alas, the time is again drawing near when we must descend from Meru Mountain, to dwell, for four months, at least, "with a fire in our heart, and a fire in our brain," for such the approaching hot season is represented to be. I am, however, well content with my situation, and almost all its circumstances: and though the good to be done must be, for the most part, of a very silent kind, and one whose fruits may not be apparent till the present race of husbandmen, and, possibly, many after them, shall be gone to rest, yet any man may count himself highly honoured in being thought worthy to labour here, however obscurely. A good deal of my attention, during my short residence, has been paid to the different sects of Oriental Christians, particularly the Greeks and Armenians, of whom a greater number than I had expected reside both in Calcutta and Dacca, and of whom many solitary individuals are scattered all over the East. I find their clergy well pleased by being noticed, and not unwilling to borrow books, &c., and trust that, eventually, some more extensive good may be done by these means.

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Dear Inglis,

ever your obliged and faithful friend,

Reginald Calcutta.

TO THE REV. E. T. S. HORNBY.

*February* 5, 1824.

My dear Friend,

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Among the clergy I have several well-informed and amiable men, who are sincerely zealous in their calling, and active in the improvement both of their own countrymen, and the heathen. We are, however, sadly too few for the work before us. Of the small number of Chaplains which the Company supplies, nearly half are absent on furlough for ill health, and the few Missionaries are quite unequal to supply the vacancies thus occasioned in many important stations, even if it were possible or desirable to withdraw them from their appropriate sphere of action, and, more particularly, from the management of those schools which are, of all others, the most likely means to open the eyes, and ameliorate the worldly and spiritual condition of the vast multitudes who are now not merely willing to receive, but absolutely courting, instruction. It is, in fact, the want of means on the part of the teachers, and not any of that invincible repugnance so often supposed to exist on the part of the Hindoos, which, in my opinion, must make the progress of the Gospel slow in India. Those who think otherwise have, I suspect, either never really desired the improvement which they affect to regard as impossible, or, by raising their expectations, in the first instance, too high, have been the cause of their own disappointment. We cannot work miracles, and it is idle to suppose that thirty or forty Missionaries, (for this is, perhaps, the full number, including all Protestant sects throughout all India,) can have, in ten or a dozen years, (for a longer time has scarcely occurred since the work was set about in good earnest,) so much as conveyed the name of the Gospel to more than a very small part of a nation containing 100,000,000 inhabitants, and scattered over

a country of 1,500,000 square miles. It is no less idle to expect that any nation, or any great numbers in a nation, will change the ancient system of faith at once, or otherwise than by very slow degrees, and with great reluctance, a reluctance not likely to be lessened when the new creed is offered them by a race of foreign conquerors, speaking their language, for the most part, very imperfectly. But we have found, in spite of these obstacles, that some Hindoos and Mussulmans of respectable rank, and considerable acquirements, (few, indeed, in number, but enough to shew that the thing is not impossible,) have, from motives the most obviously disinterested, (since nothing is to be got by turning Christian but the ill-will of their old friends, and, in most instances hitherto, the suspicion and discountenance of their new rulers,) embraced and adhered to Christianity. It is obvious, even to a careless observer, that, in Bengal at least, the wealthier natives are imitating the English in very many particulars in dress, buildings, and domestic economy, and that a change, either for evil or good, of a most extensive and remarkable nature is fermenting in the native mind; and I am convinced, from the success of the experiment so far as it has yet been tried, that nothing but the want of means prevents the introduction of schools, like those now supported in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and at Burdwan, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Church Missionary Society, in every village of Bengal, not only with the concurrence, but with the gratitude of the natives.

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Meantime you must not suppose that the cares of a preacher of the Gospel can apply to the heathen only; a very numerous population of nominal Christians is rising round us, the children of European fathers and native women, who have been, till lately, shamefully neglected, but who shew a readiness to receive instruction, and a zeal, generally speaking, for the faith and the Church establishment of the parent country, which should make that

country blush for the scanty aids which she has hitherto afforded them. From these a considerable proportion of my congregations in Calcutta are made up, and of these, 235 young persons whom I confirmed there the day before yesterday, chiefly consisted. All these are circumstances which may well encourage a man to exert himself.

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Adieu, dear Hornby; let me hope sometimes to hear from you, and believe me,

ever your affectionate friend,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO MISS DOD.

*Tittyghur, February* 26, 1824.

Such, my dear Charlotte, is a fair sample of the appearance and condition of some forty millions of peasantry subject to

British rule; very poor, as their appearance sufficiently indicates, at least in those points where an Englishman places his ideas of comfort and prosperity. Yet not so poor, and not by any means so rude and wild as their scanty dress and simple habitations would at first lead an Englishman to imagine. The silver ornaments which the young woman wears on her ancles, arms, forehead, and in her nose, joined to the similar decorations on her children's arms, would more than buy all the clothes and finery of the smartest servant-girl in England,—and the men are, in all probability, well taught in reading and writing, after their own manner, while the little boy, perhaps, is one of my scholars, and could cast an account and repeat the Lord's Prayer with any child of the same age in England. The plant which overshadows the cow and goat is a bamboo, the tall palm in the distance is a coco, that which hangs over the old mother of the family is a plantain, and the creeper on the thatched cottage a beautiful fast growing gourd, of the very kind I could fancy which obtained so fast hold on Jonah's affections. The style of carrying the child astride on one hip, the manner in which the water-pot is balanced, and the red paint, a mark of caste, as well as the diminutive size and high hump of the cow, what we usually see here; and though the groupe itself is from fancy, all the different objects are as faithful representations of nature as my skill enabled me to make. The sketch may give you some little idea of the scenes we meet with in our morning rides.

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At present I am not aware that I have much news to tell you, or that I have many circumstances to add to the description of Bengal which I have already furnished. Our lives for the last six weeks have been passed in great general retirement,

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but so much and so many things are to be done, that I am often completely tired out before the day is ended, and yet have to regret many omissions. One considerable source of labour has been the number of sermons I have had to compose.

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There is so grievous a want of Chaplains on the Bengal establishment, that both the Archdeacon and myself are obliged to preach quite as often, and sometimes oftener in the Sunday, than I ever did at Hodnet.

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The country is now splendidly beautiful. The tall timber trees which delighted us with their shade and verdure when we landed, are now many of them covered with splendid flowers, literally hot-house flowering shrubs, thirty or forty feet high, and the fragrance of a drive through the park at Barrackpoor, is answerable to the dimensions of this Brobdignag parterre. Some of the trees, and those large ones too, lose their leaves entirely at this season, throwing out large crimson and yellow flowers in their place.

I began my letter with a sketch of the peasantry of India. I conclude it with one of a part of the park of Barrackpoor, with Lady Amherst in her morning's airing.

The large tree in the centre is a peepul, sacred to Siva, and with an evil spirit, as the Hindoos believe, dwelling under every leaf. In the distance, between that and the bamboo, is a banyan. In the foreground an aloe, and over the elephant the cotton-tree, which at a certain season exchanges its leaves for flowers something like roses.

Believe me ever your faithful and affectionate friend,

Reginald Calcutta.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

*Calcutta, May* 27, 1824.

My dear Wynn,

I have two most kind and interesting letters to thank you for.

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I have now, alas! to announce the death of the poor chief-justice, who, after a week's struggle with one of the country fevers, but too common at this time of year, breathed his last yesterday morning at a little after four, having enjoyed his office in India exactly, even to a day, the same time, six weeks, which his predecessor did. For the last thirty-six hours he had been, generally speaking, delirious, having from the beginning exhibited symptoms of a tendency of blood to the head; but down to that time I had seen him every day, and, though he was much reduced, had few apprehensions that the disorder would take so malignant a turn. He was buried yesterday evening, (for in this climate no lying-in-state is ever thought of,) with the usual military honours, and attended to his grave by a more than the usual shew of the military functionaries of Calcutta. I read the service, and all the Clergy

attended. He had already become a great and general favourite both with Europeans and natives from his cordial and friendly manners, the sensible and unaffected way in which he had commenced his judicial functions, and (with the natives more particularly) from the pains he, like poor Blossett, was taking to learn the language. Lady Puller has borne up admirably; her boy has been a great comfort to her, and has evinced in his whole conduct a very amiable and affectionate disposition, and a self-command, judgement, and discrimination beyond his years.

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She has determined, and I think wisely, to return by the same vessel, the Paget, which brought them out! The contrast will, indeed, be very painful between her situation now, and what it was then, but both she and her husband were much pleased with the conduct of the Paget's Captain (Geary), and she will probably find herself less forlorn with him than among total strangers. We asked them to our house, and they had a similar invitation from Lord Amherst, but they have preferred remaining during the short time which they spend in India in the Government house in Fort William, in which they had succeeded us. Poor Puller was unfortunate in arriving at the worst season of the year, and a season which, every body says, has been peculiarly hot and unwholesome. Some days, indeed, during this month have been almost deserving the name of "terrible." By shutting all the windows close, by darkening the room to the lowest ebb of visibility, and sitting as lightly dressed as possible under the constant ventilation of a punkah, one got through the morning pretty well, and I found no want of disposition or ability either to write or study. But if a window or a door was opened, the stream of hot air came in, without the least exaggeration, like what you may have felt at the mouth of a blast furnace. Had our kind-hearted friend arrived in a more favourable season he might perhaps have been spared to us. But these thoughts are worse than idle.

The air has been within these few days greatly cooled by some

pretty strong north-westers, with their usual accompaniments of thunder, (and *such* thunder!) lightening, and rain. One of these storms, I regret to say, has blown down a large range of brick stabling at Benares, and killed several men and many horses. But at Calcutta they have done no harm that I have heard of, while their reviving effects on man, beast, bird, and vegetable, have really been little less than magical. These showers are now, indeed, becoming more frequent and attended with less wind, and an early setting-in of the rain is predicted, of which I hope to take advantage for my voyage up the country. My journey, alas! will not be so pleasant as I anticipated, since, on the concurrent representations of all our medical advisers, my wife and children remain behind, and we shall be separated for half a year at least.

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Dacca will be the first place I shall visit; there is a church to consecrate there; a good many candidates for confirmation, and some Greek Christians with whom I wish to get on the same amicable terms as I am with their countrymen at Calcutta. Nor am I insensible to the desire of seeing one of the most ancient and singular cities of India, and of obtaining a nearer view of the Sunderbunds, the main stream of the Ganges, and the yet mightier Megna.

I held my first visitation this morning at six o'clock, to avoid the heat of the day. We had the first fruits of the Gentile Church in India, in the person of Christian David, a black catechist in Ceylon, and a pupil of the celebrated Schwartz, whom, at the desire of Sir Edward Barnes, I admitted to Deacon's orders. The poor man, who had journeyed to Calcutta, via Madras, to obtain them, is really a very clever, and at the same time a most simple and artless creature. He knows no Latin, but speaks English, Tamul, Cingalese, and Portuguese fluently, and passed a good, though a very Indian and characteristic, examination. He is to dine with me to-day to meet the Company's Chaplains and Church of England Missionaries, as usual on visitation days, and the busi-

ness being in some degree the triumph of the episcopal cause in the east, I have also asked the Protopapas of the Greeks, the Archimandrite of the Armenians, with certain of their subordinate monks from mount Sinai and Nakitchavan. It will be an odd party, but the fact is that I have been sometimes tempted to flatter myself with the hopes of effectually "reconciling" them. At least I think it not impossible for the Church of England to acquire a sort of influence over their minds, separated as they are by a vast interval from their own ecclesiastical superiors, which may enable us to do them much good, and to convey much valuable instruction to them, which they otherwise would be very slow to receive from us.

Adieu, dear Wynn,

believe me ever your obliged and affectionate friend,

Reginald Calcutta.

God bless you once more! In proportion as friends drop off, those who are left become doubly dear. I have mourned for poor Puller sincerely, but what should I do for you?

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*On the Chundnah, June* 28, 1824.

My dear Love,

We are still in this labyrinth of rivers, and likely to be several days yet before we reach Dacca. Mr. Master, however, has kindly forwarded your packets to me, and I write back by his dâk-boat, which, being small and light, will be there on Wednesday. Thank you for your interesting letter. I never recollect seeing

your hand-writing with more or so much delight as now, since it arrived quite unexpectedly, and I had no hopes of hearing of you before the end of the week.

The stream of all these rivers, or nearly all, has been against us; and we had in one place a bar of sand to cut through, which has made our journey very tedious, though through a country, generally speaking, as beautiful as groves and meadows can make it. You will, I hope, ere this, have received my second packet of Journal; the third I will send from Dacca. We are both, I think, gaining health fast.

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If you and my dear children were with me, I should enjoy this way of life much. Our weather has been, generally, good, and all has gone on well.

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This course has, certainly, been a long one; but I am, on the whole, not sorry that I preferred it. It has shewn me a part of Bengal not usually traversed by Europeans, and decidedly, I think, the most beautiful. We have had, indeed, no more adventures like our "audience" at Sibnibashi, but I have some things to send which I trust will amuse you, and I have had opportunities of making four large drawings.

Your affectionate husband,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Dacca, July* 10, 1824.

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Poor Stowe has had a very severe recurrence of dysentery. He complained of it in some degree on Saturday, so that I left

him wind-bound in the pinnace, rather than expose him to the chance of a wetting by taking him on in the jolly-boat to Dacca, an expedient to which I myself resorted on that day, in order to be in time for church on Sunday. On Sunday evening he arrived, but so ill that we had some difficulty in getting him out of his cabin to Mr. Master's house.

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I am quite well, except that my shins, which I could not help exposing to the heat of the sun in the little boat, were both burnt in the same way as if I had been sitting before a great fire.

Dr. Todd, the principal surgeon in the station, has considered Stowe as in some danger, but to-day his opinion is more favourable. Pray tell his sister, (though I hope it is almost needless) that he has, and shall have from me, as great attention and tenderness as a brother can shew. . . I sit in his room as much as I can, with my books and writing; I read to him when he is able to attend, and we converse from time to time, while he has more liking for the tea, egg-wine, &c. which I make for him than for what his nurse prepares.

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I have had the Confirmation this morning; about twenty-nine persons attended, all adults.

Assure Miss Stowe that her brother shall, in no case, be hurried; and that I will not leave Dacca till he can accompany me, or, should so long a journey be thought too much for him, till he is actually out of all danger, and able to return to Calcutta with safety and propriety.

Adieu!

Reginald Calcutta.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

*Dacca, July* 13, 1824.

My dear Wynn,

I sent a few days since an official letter to Mr. Courtenay, announcing the intention of Archdeacon Barnes to resign as soon as his ten years are expired, and his hope that he may be permitted to receive his pension from the date of such resignation. By all which I hear of him in India, he is well deserving of any favour which ministers may be able to shew him.

* * * * *

Should the friend who now addresses you sink to his last sleep by some jungle side, I have often thought (your kindness encourages me to take this liberty) that few men would be better qualified from experience, and good sense, and good character, to give satisfaction to the Clergy and Governments of India. If I am spared to see him, which I hope to do in February next, I may, perhaps, give you more information.

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You will have learned, from a former letter, my intention of setting out on a visitation of Bengal, Bombay, and possibly Ceylon, and the date of my present will shew you that I am already advanced some little way in my journey.

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Two thirds of the vast area of Dacca are filled with ruins, some quite desolate and overgrown with jungle, others yet occupied by Mussulman chieftains, the descendants of the followers of Shah Jehanguire, and all of the "Lions of war," "Prudent and valiant Lords," "Pillars of the Council," "Swords of Battle," and whatever other names of Cawn, Emir, or Omrah, the court of Delhi dispensed in the time of its greatness. These are to me a new study. I had seen abundance of Hindoo Baboos and some few Rajas in Calcutta. But of the 300,000 inhabitants who yet roost like bats in these old buildings, or rear their huts amid their

desolate gardens, three-fourths are still Mussulmans, and the few English, and Armenian, and Greek Christians who are found here, are not altogether more than sixty or eighty persons, who live more with the natives, and form less of an exclusive society than is the case in most parts of British India. All the Mussulmans of rank whom I have yet seen, in their comparatively fair complexions, their graceful and dignified demeanour, particularly on horseback, their shewy dresses, the martial curl of their whiskers, and the crowd, bustle, and ostentation of their followers, far outshine any Hindoos; but the Calcutta Baboos leave them behind *toto cœlo*, in the elegance of their carriages, the beauty of their diamond rings, their Corinthian verandahs, and the other outward signs of thriving and luxury. Yet even among these Mahommedans, who have, of course, less reason to like us than any other inhabitants of India, there is a strong and growing disposition to learn the English language, and to adopt, by degrees, very many of the English customs and fashions.

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The most whimsical instance of imitation, is, perhaps, that of Mirza Ishraf Ali, a Zemindar of 100,000 acres, and with a house like a ruinous convent, who in his English notes, signs his hereditary title of "Kureem Cawn Bahadur" in its initials, K. C. B.

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Many of the younger Mussulmans of rank, who have no hope of advancement either in the army or the state, sooner or later sink into sots, or kindle into decoits and rebels. As a remedy for this evil, I have heard the propriety suggested of raising corps of cavalry of the same description, but of smaller numbers than those of Skinner and Baddeley, which might be commanded by the natives of highest rank, but kept in the Company's pay, and assimilated, as much as possible, to the rest of the army. They might easily, it was said, be stationed so as not to be dangerous, and at

the same time to render regular troops disposable for other purposes. The idea somewhat resembles that of Forbes, before the year 1745, for raising Highland regiments, and, perhaps, it may be true that the best way to make men loyal, is to make them respectable and comfortable, while to keep them employed is most likely to keep them out of mischief. They are not, however, the great men only, who are inclined to copy the English; a desire of learning our language is almost universal even here, and in these waste bazars and sheds, where I should never have expected any thing of the kind, the dressing-boxes, writing-cases, cutlery, chintzes, pistols, and fowling-pieces, engravings, and other English goods, or imitations of English, which are seen, evince how fond of them the middling and humbler classes are become. Here, too, a knowledge of the Christian Scriptures, in spite of the Abbé Dubois, is rapidly increasing. A Baptist missionary has established a circle of 26 day schools, containing more than 1000 boys, who all read the New Testament as their daily task, without any objection being made, and had the Church of England Societies a missionary at present to spare, he might in a month double the number. Of all these, indeed, few will be directly converted, but these examples, as well as my own experience, (and I think I am now able to form an opinion) convince me that the Hindoostanee version, at least, is neither unintelligible nor contemptible. If Christian David, indeed, is to be believed, and I believe him to be a very honest man, nothing can exceed Dubois's mendacity and ignorance even with regard to Malabar and Coromandel. But of these countries I trust to know more hereafter.

I have staid longer in Dacca than I intended, owing to the sad and severe illness of my poor friend Stowe, who two days before we arrived, imprudently exposed himself to the two worst poisons of the climate, by wading through a marsh while the sun was yet high. He has been twelve days ill, and is yet in a very precarious state. His illness, indeed, prevented me from writing some days ago, but he is now asleep, and I have fled to England,

shall I say? or Wales? for it is Llangedwin in which my fancy always contemplates you with most pleasure. Wherever you are, Heaven bless you all, and may you sometimes think of one, who though now actually in "India beyond the Ganges," is, and ever must be,

Dear Wynn,

your obliged and affectionate friend,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Dacca, July* 16, 1824.

MY DEAR LOVE,

All I can say to-day is, that the two surgeons do not think matters worse. . . I have prayed with poor Stowe every day, at his request, since his illness began; indeed, we had always read the Psalms and Lessons together on board our boat. On Sunday, by his own anxious wish, he received the Sacrament. He is now quite calm, and resigned to God's will, which must, of itself, be a favourable circumstance for his bodily restoration.

*July* 17*th.*

You must prepare poor Miss Stowe for the worst, if that can be called the *worst*, which will be to her brother, I hope and believe, a gate of everlasting happiness. He is yet in the full possession of his intellects, and so strong, considering all he has gone through, that I have been persuaded with difficulty to cease to hope. . . . I shall feel his loss very deeply. I do think, if he lives, with his good talents, good intentions, and the additional motives which a recollection of the approach of death, and gratitude for his deliverance, may give him, he will be a most valuable servant of God in India. . . . Nor is it a trifling circumstance of comfort to me, that, if he lives, I shall

think that my nursing, and his unbounded confidence in me, will have been, under God, the chief means of tranquillizing his mind, supporting his strength, and saving him.

God bless you,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Dacca, July* 18, 1824.

DEAR DEAR WIFE,

All is over! My poor friend was released a little after twelve last night. The light-headedness which in dysentery, I find, is always a fatal symptom, encreased during the day, though he continued to know me, and to do and take whatever I desired him; between nine and ten, he had a severe return of spasm, after which he sunk into a tranquil doze till he passed off without a groan. I grieve to find by your letter that his sister is set out hither; surely there will yet be time to bring her back again, and spare her some of the horrors of a journey made in doubtful hope, and a return in solitude and misery.

I greatly regret that any thing in my letters gave encouragement to her to set off. But I have all along clung, even against hope, to the hope of his recovery.

On the 14th and 15th, he altered much for the worse, and it was on the evening of the latter day that he was first convinced his end was drawing near, and begged me to be with him when the hour came. You will not doubt that I kept my promise, though he was not conscious of my presence. As he was fully sensible of the approach of death, so he was admirably prepared for it. From the very beginning of our journey, we had prayed and read the Scriptures together daily; on the last Sunday which he saw, we had received the sacrament together; I trust I shall never forget

the deep contrition and humility, the earnest prayer, or the earnest faith in the mercies of Christ, with which he commended himself to God. On Thursday he had an aweful mental struggle, but confessed his sins, and cried for mercy to Jesus Christ with a simplicity, contrition, and humility, which I shall never forget, and I trust always be the better for. By degrees his fears became less, his faith stronger, and his hope more lively; and he told me at many different times in the following thirty-six hours, that God's goodness was making the passage more and more easy to him, and that he felt more and more that Christ had died for sinners. When his strength was gradually wearing away, he said, "If I lose sight of the Cross, though but for a moment, I am ready to despair, but my blessed Lord makes his mercy and his power more and more plain to me." The laudanum, which was given him in the course of Friday night, conjured up some evil dreams, of which he complained a good deal; being very much worn out myself, I had gone to lie down for an hour or two, leaving him asleep, under the care of one of the surgeons. He wakened, however, soon after, and called earnestly for me, and when I came, threw his arms round my neck, and begged me not to leave him. After we had prayed a little together, he said, "My head is sadly confused with this horrid drug, but I now recollect all which you told me, and which I myself experienced yesterday, of God's goodness in his Son. Do not let them give me any more, for it prevents my praying to God as I could wish to do." He spoke very often of his "poor, poor sister," and said, "God, who is so good to a sinner like me, will not forget her." He asked, which you will not doubt I promised for us both, that we would be a sister and a brother to her. He said, not long before his light-headedness came on, on Saturday morning, "Tell Mrs. Heber that I think of her, and pray for her in this hour." After his hallucination commenced, he rambled very much about our voyage, but whenever I spoke to him it recalled him for the moment, and he listened, and said Amen, to some of the Church prayers for the dying. "It is very strange," he once said, "every

thing changes round me. I cannot make out where I am, or what has happened, but your face I always see near me, and I recollect what you have been saying." The last articulate words he uttered were about his sister. Even in this incoherence, it was comfortable to find that no gloomy ideas intruded, that he kept up some shadow of his hope in God, even when his intellect was most clouded, and that his last day of life was certainly, on the whole, not a day of suffering. After death his countenance was singularly calm and beautiful, and not like a corpse so much as a statue. I myself closed his eyes.

One lesson has been very deeply imprinted on my heart by these few days. If this man's innocent and useful life (for I have no reason to doubt that the greater part of his life has been both innocent and useful,) offered so many painful recollections, and called forth such deep contrition, when in the hour of death he came to examine every instance of omission or transgression, how careful must we be to improve every hour and every opportunity of grace, and so to remember God while we live, that we may not be afraid to think on him when dying! And above all, how blessed and necessary is the blood of Christ to us all, which was poor Stowe's only and effectual comfort!

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God bless you, dear love, in your approaching voyage. How delighted I should be to meet you at Boglipoor.

Reginald Calcutta.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Dacca, July* 19, 1824.

Dearest Wife,

Poor Stowe was buried yesterday in the cemetery which I had consecrated just a week before. All the gentlemen of the

station, as well as the military officers, attended unsolicited, and his body was borne to the grave by a detachment of European artillerymen, who, though it was the custom on such occasions for the coffin to be carried, when out of the city, by native bearers, refused to allow any persons but themselves "to touch the gentleman." Mr. Parish read the service, and I went as chief mourner. Sincerely as I have mourned, and do mourn him continually, the moment perhaps at which I felt his loss most keenly was on my return to this house. I had always after airings, or other short absences, been accustomed to run up immediately to his room to ask about his medicines and his nourishment, to find if he had wanted any thing during my absence, and to tell him what I had seen and heard. And now, as I went up stairs, I felt most painfully that the object of my solicitude was gone, and that there was nobody now to derive comfort or help from my coming, or whose eyes would faintly sparkle as I opened the door. I felt my heart sick, and inclined to accuse myself, as usual, of not having valued my poor friend sufficiently while I had him, and of having paid during the voyage too little attention to the state of his health; yet, from the hour I knew he was seriously ill, thank God! I can find nothing of wilful neglect to reproach myself with, though some things I might have done better, if I had not myself been in some respects unwell, and if I had not been constantly occupied with business and correspondence. But I hope I did what I could during the few last days, and when his danger was told me, I gave up every thing to him, and neither read nor wrote, nor paid or received visits, nor even went out of his room for a moment, except for very short and hurried meals.

It will be long before I forget the guilelessness of his nature, the interest which he felt and expressed in all the beautiful and sequestered scenery which we passed through, his anxiety to be useful to me in any way which I could point out to him, (he was indeed very useful,) and above all the unaffected pleasure which he took in discussing religious subjects, his diligence in studying the

Bible, and the fearless humanity with which he examined the case, and administered to the wants of nine poor Hindoos, the crew of a salt-barge, whom, as I mentioned in my Journal, we found lying sick together of a jungle fever, unable to leave the place where they lay, and unaided by the neighbouring villagers. I then little thought how soon he in his turn would require the aid he gave so cheerfully.

I have been to-day settling his affairs, and looking over his papers. I yet hope to hear by to-morrow's post that you have been able to prevent his sister's wretched voyage. Adieu, the post is going out.

Reginald Calcutta.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Dacca, July* 21, 1824.

I have been sadly disappointed at not hearing from you to-day, but the cause has been explained by the increase of the inundation and the consequent delays of the Dâk . . . . . . I have, I believe, lost little by these three days' delay, as the wind has been contrary, and I, to say the truth, have had so severe a boil on the cap of my knee, that I am hardly fit to undertake a journey. I have had it coming on some time, and not being able to rest it, and irritating it still more by want of sleep, it had become very painful indeed, and at this moment keeps me a close prisoner. The boat will be a good place for my convalescence; but in the meantime I have been better here.

Mr. Todd has absolutely refused to receive any fee for his attendance upon poor Stowe; his conduct has throughout been admirable. He seldom failed to call four and sometimes five

times a day. He latterly always sate with Stowe during the times that I was forced to leave him, and he and Mr. Patterson, by turns, sate up the greater part of the three last nights, to watch any turn which might be taken advantage of. . . . . . . . Indeed it may be a melancholy comfort to Miss Stowe to know how much interest her brother's youth, recent arrival in India, and, perhaps, the manner in which his medical attendants spoke of him, excited in the whole station. Every day presents of fruits, jellies, things which were thought good for him, and books supposed to be likely to illustrate his case or amuse him, came from one quarter or another, not only from the Europeans, but from the Nawâb and Mirza Israf Ali, while, to Mr. Master's brotherly kindness, I am more indebted than I can say.

And thus ends my visit to Dacca! a place which, more than most others in India, I was anxious to visit; my visit to which was opposed by obstacles so numerous, and at which I have passed, perhaps, the most melancholy and forlorn three weeks I ever remember. God's will be done! I have acted, as I thought, for the best, and I now go on, though alone and sorrowful, with an entire trust in His Providence and goodness. To think that I may, perhaps, in three weeks more, meet my beloved wife and children, is itself enough to give me courage.

This letter is a sad scrawl, but most of it has been written on the bed. I send you another curiosity which arrived to-day from two Armenian Bishops of Ecmiazin, at the foot of Mount Ararat, and Jerusalem! What ideas such names would have excited in England!

Adieu, dear Love!

Reginald Calcutta.

TO MISS STOWE.

*Furreedpoor, July*, 1824.

With a heavy heart, my dear Miss Stowe, I send you the enclosed keys. How to offer you consolation in your present grief, I know not; for by my own deep sense of the loss of an excellent friend, I know how much heavier is your burden. Yet even the many amiable qualities of your dear brother, joined with that deep Christian humility and reliance on his Saviour which he evinced in his illness, while they make our loss the heavier, should lead us to recollect that the loss is ours only; that, prepared as he was to die, it was his unspeakable gain to be removed from a world in which he had many sorrows; and above all, that your separation from him will only be for a time, and until *He* who has hidden him from your eyes shall restore you to his society in a happy and eternal state of existence. Separation of one kind or another is, indeed, one of the most frequent trials to which affectionate hearts are exposed. And if you can only regard your brother as removed for his own advantage to a distant country, you will find, perhaps, some of that misery alleviated under which you now are suffering. Had you remained in England when he came out hither, you would have been, for a time, divided no less effectually than you are now. The difference of hearing from him is almost all, and though you now have not that comfort, yet even without hearing from him, you may be well persuaded (which there you could not always have been) that he is well and happy; and, above all, you may be persuaded, as your dear brother was most fully in his time of severest suffering, that God never smites his children in vain, or out of cruelty. His severest stripes are intended to heal, and he has doubtless some wise and gracious purpose both for your poor Martin and for you, in thus taking him from your side, and leaving you in this world, with *Himself* as your sole guardian.

A mighty and most merciful Protector be sure He is, and one who always then deals most kindly with us when we are constrained to cast our cares on Him alone, and are most sensible of our utter helplessness. This was your brother's comfort; it should be yours; and thus may both he and you have occasion for unspeakable joy hereafter, if the mysterious dispensation which has deprived you of your *brother,* serves to bring you to a closer and more constant communion with your *God.* Meantime, in my wife and myself, you have friends, even in this remote land, who are anxious, as far as we have the power, to supply your brother's place, and whose best services you may command as freely as his whom you have lost.

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So long as you choose to remain with us, we will be, to our power, a sister and a brother to you. And it may be worth your consideration, whether in your present state of health and spirits, a journey, in my wife's society, will not be better for you than a dreary voyage home. But this is a point on which you must decide for yourself; I would scarcely venture to advise, far less dictate, where I am only anxious to serve. In my dear Emily you will already have had a most affectionate and sensible counsellor.

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And now farewell! God support, bless, and comfort you! Such as my prayers are, you have them fervently and sincerely offered. But you have better and holier prayers than mine. That the spirits in Paradise pray for those whom they have left behind, I cannot doubt, since I cannot suppose that they cease to love us there; and your dear brother is thus still employed in your service, and still recommending you to the Throne of Mercy, to the all-sufficient and promised help of that God who is the Father of the fatherless, and of that blessed Son who hath assured us that "they who mourn shall be comforted!"

One more consideration I cannot help addressing to you, though it belongs to a subject wrapt up in impenetrable darkness. A little before your poor brother ceased to speak at all, and after his mind had been for some time wandering, he asked me in a half whisper, " Shall I see my sister to-night ?" I could not help answering, though in a different sense, perhaps, from that in which he meant the question, that I thought it possible. I know not, (indeed, who can know ?) whether the spirits of the just are ever permitted to hover over those whom they have loved most tenderly; but if such permission be given, and who can say it is impossible ? then it must greatly increase your brother's present happiness, and greatly diminish that painful sense of separation which even the souls of the righteous may be supposed to feel, if he sees you resigned, patient, hopeful, trusting on that same Cross which was his refuge in the hour of dread, and that good Providence to whose care he fervently and faithfully committed you.

Believe me, dear Miss Stowe,

Your faithful and affectionate friend and servant,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Furreedpoor, July* 28, 1824.

Alas! alas! my beloved wife, what have you not gone through ? Your letter of July 24, has just reached me from Dacca. God's will be done in all things! Your joining me is out of the question. But I need not tell you to spare no expence of sea-voyage, or any other measure, which may tend to restore or preserve our dear children or yourself, so soon as such a measure may appear desirable for any of you. . . . . On

these points I leave you in confidence to the advice of Dr. Abel and Mr. Shaw. For the success of their counsels I humbly hope in the mercy of God, who has in this heavy visitation preserved us from still more bitter sorrow.

I am, at this moment, strangely tempted to come to you. But *I fear* it might be a compromise of my duty and a distrust of God! I feel most grateful indeed to Him for the preservation of our invaluable treasures. I pray God to bless Lady Amherst, and all who are dear to her, and to shew kindness tenfold to her children, for all the kindness she has shewn ours.

I am going on immediately, with a heavy heart indeed, but with trust in His mercies. Farewell!

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ALEXANDER, &c. &c. &c.

*Allahabad, Sept.* 24, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,

Many thanks for your kind and friendly letter, as well as for the enclosed paper. I am sincerely sorry that you have had so much trouble about it, and that from our friend the Archdeacon and myself not knowing exactly each other's proceedings, an ignorance arising from the illness which kept him while at Chunar so nearly close a prisoner, we were at the same time taking measures which had a tendency to clash with each other.

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It is, however, of the less consequence, since circumstances have come to my knowledge which make me think it, at the present moment, inexpedient to address Government on the subject of the Chunar Church, and that the object which we have all of us in view, will be, in some degree, obtained by another method.

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I cannot close my letter without renewing my acknowledgments for the very agreeable days which I have spent in your house and in your society; and assuring you that I shall long remember with deep interest some passages in our conversation, and in the letters which you shewed me. That God may bless you and yours in all things, is the earnest wish of

Dear Colonel,

Ever your sincere friend,

Reginald Calcutta.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Allahabad, Sept.* 29, 1824.

Your letter, and enclosed note, have just reached me at this place, where we have been thus long detained for want of tents.

Alas! my love, how have you been tried! Comfortable as your last note is, I dare not yet hope that I shall see my lovely little Harriet again in this world, for I know the insidious nature of the disease. But I shall not return. I have, I feel, duties to fulfil here, and, as you truly say, before I could arrive, her doom must be sealed, and your burst of grief, in case of the worst, must have subsided into a calmer sorrow. God support and comfort you! I am well, and I trust I shall be enabled to be patient and resigned.

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There are rumours of wars in this part of the world, and people talk of armies and invasions from the Seiks, Nepâl, and Nagpoor. I am not very credulous of such reports, but I mention

them to shew you that I am aware of them, and will not run into needless danger. God bless you; trust in Him, and pray for His help for your poor babies, and your affectionate husband,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO THE REV. C. CHOLMONDELEY AND MRS. CHOLMONDELEY.

*Rahmatgunge, between Cawnpore and Lucknow, Oct.* 19, 1824.

MY DEAR CHARLES AND MARY,

I write to both in one letter, because, from the rambling nature of the life which I have been for some time leading, and still more from the number of business letters which I am obliged to attend to, I have far less time than I could wish to thank my friends at home for the kind and interesting packets which I receive from them. Of those packets, I can assure you none has given Emily and myself more pleasure than Charles's account of the birth of your little boy.

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My journey has hitherto lain through three, if not four, very distinct tracts of country and people; of the former I endeavoured to give you some idea in my letters from Calcutta, and I do not think that my first impressions have been altered. Bengal, of which I have now seen by far the greatest part, is all pretty nearly the same mass of luxuriant vegetation, fields of rice, indigo, and sugar, growing in and out of the water.

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Bengal is not included within the bounds of Hindostan, and

the term of Bengalee is used to express any thing which is roguish and cowardly; such as they are, however, I am far from disliking them; . . . . . . and I still am inclined to think some parts of the country the most beautiful, I am sure it is the most fertile, and to an European the most novel and exotic district which I have yet seen in India. But if you wish to obtain an idea of the people or country of Bengal, I know not where I can refer you better than to the large prints of Cook's third voyage; the expression of countenance is remarkably similar to that which his draftsman has given to the Otaheitans.

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I ought not to omit, that the language of Bengal, which is quite different from Hindoostanee, is soft and liquid. The common people are all fond of singing, and some of the airs which I used to hear from the boatman and children in the villages, reminded me of the Scotch melodies. I heard more than once "My boy, Tammy," and "Here's a health to those far away," during some of those twilight walks, after my boat was moored, which wanted only society to make them delightful, when amid the scent and glow of night-blowing flowers, the soft whisper of waving palms, and the warbling of the nightingale, watching the innumerable fire-flies, like airy glow-worms, floating, rising, and sinking, in the gloom of the bamboo woods, and gazing on the mighty river with the unclouded breadth of a tropical moon sleeping on its surface, I felt in my heart it is good to be here.

As we approach the frontiers of Bahar, these beauties disappear, and are replaced by two or three days' sail of hideously ugly, bare, treeless, level country, till some blue hills are seen, and a very pretty and wooded tract succeeds with high hills little cultivated, but peopled by a singular and interesting race, the Welch of India.

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I have now taken measures for placing an ordained missionary

of the Church of England among them, and hope to be the means, by God's blessing, of gradually extending a chain of schools through the whole district, some parts of which are, however, unfortunately very unhealthy. I had myself not much opportunity, nor indeed much power of conversing with any of them; but I have since had the happiness of hearing that one old soubahdar said that he and his men had a desire to learn more of my religion, because I was not proud; there certainly seem fewer obstacles to conversion here than in any part of this country which I have ever seen or heard of.

On leaving the hills of the Jungleterry district, the flat country of Bahar and Allahabad, as far as Benares, shews a vast extent of fertile, cultivated, and populous soil.

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The whole scene, in short, is changed from Polynesia to the more western parts of Asia and the east of Europe, and I could fancy myself in Persia, Syria, or Turkey, to which the increasing number of Mussulmans, though still the minority, the minarets, and the less dark complexion of the people, much contribute.

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But though this difference exists between Bengal and Bahar, Bahar itself, I shortly afterwards found, was in many respects different from the Dooab, and still more from the dominion of the King of Oude, in which I now am. Almost immediately on leaving Allahabad, I was struck with the appearance of the men, as tall and muscular as the largest stature of Europeans, and with the fields of wheat, as almost the only cultivation * * *
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I was tempted too to exclaim,

Bellum, o terra hospita, portas:
Bello armantur equi; bellum hæc armenta minantur.

* * * * *

Since that time my life has been that of a Tartar chief, rather than an English clergyman. I rise by three in the morning, and am on horseback by four, for the sake of getting the march over, and our tents comfortably pitched before the heat of the day.

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I have then a few hours to myself till dinner time at four, after which we generally stroll about, read prayers, and send every body to bed by eight o'clock to be ready for the next day's march.

I have as yet said nothing of my professional labours, (though in this respect I may say I have not been idle;) very few Sundays have elapsed since I left Calcutta, in which I have not been able to collect a Christian congregation, and not many on which I have not been requested to administer the sacrament. I have already confirmed above 300 persons, besides those I confirmed before I set out; and I have found, almost every where, a great and growing anxiety on the part of the English families which are scattered through this vast extent of country, both to obtain a more regular and stated performance of Divine Service than, in the present paucity of Chaplains and Missionaries, can be afforded to them. I have found, too, abundant reason to believe that the standard of morals and religion is rising much higher among them than it used to be, and that the Church of England, her ceremonies, and Clergy are daily gaining popularity. We are not here an old establishment, acting chiefly on the defensive; we are a rising and popular sect, and among the candidates for confirmation, many of whom were grown up, and some advanced in life, there were many who had been brought up among Dissenters or the Church of Scotland, and who confessed that a few years back they should never have thought it possible for them to seek the benediction of a Bishop.

With regard to the conversion of the natives a beginning has been made, and though it is a beginning only, I think it a very promising one. I do not only mean that wherever our schools are

established they gladly send their children to them, though this alone would be a subject of great thankfulness to God, but of direct conversion, the number is as great as could well be expected, considering that it is only within the last five years, that any ordained English Missionary has been in the presidency of Bengal, and that before that time nothing was even attempted by any members of our Church, except Mr. Martyn and Mr. Corrie. Of the candidates for confirmation, whom I mentioned above, eighty were converted heathens, and there were many whose distant residences made it impossible for them to attend, and many more who were desirous to obtain the rite, whom their pastors did not think as yet sufficiently instructed.

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Great part of our Liturgy has been translated, and well translated too, into Hindoostanee, and I thought it fortunate that the Confirmation Service as well as the Communion is found in the present compendium. The language is grave and sonorous, and as its turn of expression, like that of all other eastern tongues, is scriptural, it suits extremely well the majestic simplicity of our Prayer-Book. With all this employment, and all these hopes before me, you will easily believe I am not idle, and cannot be unhappy. Yet you will not, I am sure, suspect me of forgetting all I have left behind; and there are many little circumstances of almost daily occurrence which give occasion to very sadly pleasing recollections.

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On another occasion while we were sitting at the tent door under the shade of a noble peepul-tree, looking out with some anxiety over the wide sultry plain for the rear of our caravan, Lushington called out, as the long necks reared themselves amid some brushwood, "the camels are coming, oho!" I believe he thought from my silence that I did not understand the allusion, but in fact I could not answer. He had sent me to Moreton drawing-room and my

dear Mary's piano-forte, and I was, I believe, a long time in getting back to the neighbourhood of the Ganges and Jumna. I have written a very long letter, but I do not think I shall have tired either of you. I meant to have enclosed one to my mother, but I have really no time now, and will write to her at a more advanced stage of my journey, and when I have something more to say. I know you will shew her this letter; giving my best love to her and to Heber. I can hardly say how often and how much I long to see you all, and how constantly you are all in my thoughts and prayers.

Adieu, dear Charles and Mary,

Ever your affectionate brother,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Almorah, Dec.* 1, 1824.

Your letter of the 10th November has just reached me, having been sent from Delhi. I trust that, long ere this, you will have been convinced, by my Journal, that though there is a certain degree of irritability in the native mind in the northern and western provinces of Hindostan, there is nothing like revolt, and that I am running no sort of danger. To set your mind, however, more at ease, I have had a conversation with ———, who, though not insensible to the fact that there are fewer troops than is advisable in these provinces (if troops were to be had) does not feel any apprehension of mischief occurring at present. Had any of the great native powers been prepared to strike, they would have been on horseback before now, and as soon as possible after the rains. And though there may be, here and there, a refractory Zemindar

on the frontier, no general or formidable rising can be now looked for, unless, which God forbid, some great disaster shall happen to our arms in the east. Rajpootana is said to be again quiet, and the transfer of Mhow to the Bombay army, by nearly doubling Sir David Ochterlony's disposable force, will enable him probably to keep it so.

I am not going near the district where Mr. Shore was wounded, and that too is said to be now again tranquil. Rohilcund is as quiet as it is ever likely to be, and of that district I have only a very few short marches to traverse, and in *its quietest part;* nor, so far as I can learn, am I at all an unpopular person there, or likely to be molested, even if some partial mischief should occur. Believe me, I will be prudent, and incur no needless danger. God bless and keep you for ever!

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Boitpoor, Rohilcund, Dec.* 10, 1824.

DEAREST EMILY,

I send you two good packets of Journal, by which you will see I have had a very interesting journey through Kemaoon. My visit to Almorah has, I hope, not been useless, or one which I ought to regret, notwithstanding the delay it has occasioned me. The reasons which led me to go there (which indeed, as you are aware, has always been a part of my plan,) you will see detailed in my Journal. I have learned some facts which, if my life is spared, may open a door for sending missionaries and copies of the Scriptures into Tartary, and even China. I have also ascertained, from actual experience, that if our next arrival in the north of India falls

at the proper season, neither the fatigue nor the inconveniences, though certainly neither of them are trifling, need deter you from enjoying the pleasure which I have received, and which, had you been with me, would have been greatly increased.

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For children and women-servants there is no mode of conveyance but small hammocks, slung on a bamboo, and each carried by two men, whilst you would have to encounter the actual bodily fatigue of sitting on a poney up and down steep hills for three or four hours together. Still these difficulties are not much greater than are encountered by travellers in Norway, and the remoter parts of Scotland.

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I have at last received your letters, directed to Meerut, and that of Dr. Abel. They contain a very blended tissue of evil and good, for which I hardly know whether to lament or be grateful.

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The letters you enclose from home have also excited very painful feelings.

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Nor am I able to contemplate without great concern and anxiety, my poor mother, at her time of life, seeking out a new residence. God I hope will support and strengthen her natural cheerful spirits and activity of mind.

Reginald Calcutta.

In order to shew you that I conceal nothing from you, I add, that a letter from Mr. Halhed, just received, apologizes for not being able to receive me at his house, in consequence of his being obliged to march against a small body of armed plunderers near the forest. Such little tumults are, as I have told you, not unfrequent in Rohilcund; but *this* is several days' march out of my way, and even were it not, my escort is too strong to encourage them to

meddle with me. I mention it lest you should be alarmed by hearing any thing of it from other quarters, and because such matters are, at Calcutta, often exaggerated.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Mowah, (Jyepoor Territory,) Jan.* 22, 1825.

My dearest Emily,

I take the opportunity of the return of Mr. Mac Sweyn's suwarrs to Agra, to send you my Journal, as continued down to this morning. My next letter must be from Jyepoor, where, if it please God, I hope to arrive on the 28th. If you sail to Bombay, that will be the last letter which you are likely to receive from me during your stay in Bengal.

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I was very sorry to hear of poor . . . .'s death, and cannot help thinking that the confined air of her quarters in the fort, added to her own regret for the foolish step she had taken in leaving you, hastened it. I now much regret that I did not, as I once thought of doing, call on her, in one of my morning rides, to bid her good bye before I left Calcutta; she would have taken it kindly, but I was in a hurry, and not over well-pleased with her at the time.

I have just received a letter from Colonel Raper, the Resident at the Rannee's court, who sent me an additional escort of cavalry for my passage through the Jyepoor territory. I had, *previously*, no apprehensions, but you will be glad to hear that I am well guarded. The Rannee is now again on perfect good terms with the English. Sir David Ochterlony is residing in the palace with her, and she has sent a vakeel and a guard of twenty-five horsemen to guide and guard me through her dominions. She has, in fact,

carried most of her points with Government, which, in these troublesome times, had probably, no desire to make new enemies. All is, at present, quiet, in these parts; and with the exception of the strange appearance of 2500 horse, no man knows whence, at Calpee, who plundered the city, and even ventured to exchange some shots with the garrison in the fort, all has been so for several months past. Any more serious mischief to which that *may* have been intended as a prelude, will probably be prevented by the news of our successes at Rangoon.

I am quite well, and, if you were with me, should be quite happy. As it is, I enjoy very much this sort of wild travelling, and the spectacle of a people in a very simple state of society.

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Jyepoor, January* 28, 1825.

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I have written to you so lately that I should hardly have sent you another packet, if it were not under the idea that, unless I make haste, I shall hardly catch you before your embarkation for Bombay, should that event, as I continue to hope it may, take place. I hope, please God, to send an account of my further progress, to meet you, should you arrive there before me; but should such a letter not immediately make its appearance, do not anticipate any evil, since in the line of road which I am most likely to follow in my march from Nusseerabad, I am not certain that any dâk exists, except a very circuitous one.

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I little thought, when fancying the possible trials which we might have to go through in India, that the sea was ever to roll

between you, our babies, and me! But go wherever you will, you are in the hands of a good God. I know you will not tempt his goodness unnecessarily by going in an improper vessel, (an Arab I positively prohibit,) or at an improper season; and the air of Calcutta, to which I have already trusted you so long, is, in my opinion, an element full as dangerous as that to which I am now trusting you. And I hope that the Great Protector, under whose care we are now running our separate course, will not only, if he sees it good for us, bring us safely and happily together in a few months more, but that, through His mercy, this may be our last separation, of any length, on this side the grave!

An answer to this letter may have a chance of reaching me either at Mhow or Ahmedabad. I am not able to determine, till I reach Nusseerabad, which of these two routes it will be best for me to pursue. The first had been always contemplated by me, but since the Bengal army has been withdrawn, and replaced by fresh troops from Poonah, I do not know that I am likely to have much to do there; and by taking the more western road by Oodeypoor, Aboo, Palampoor, &c., I get, as I am told, a better road, visit a new and large station of the Bombay army at Deesa, and see some fine ruins at Aboo. Above all, Mhow will lie very well in the road which I propose to take with you in a future visitation, when the chance is, there will be more to do there than there is now. However, I hope to receive letters at Nusseerabad which will enable me to determine what is best: it will be usefulness, not curiosity, which will guide me. A letter to each of these places, Mhow and Ahmedabad, will be almost sure to reach me, and would be a great comfort to me.

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Do you know, dearest, that I sometimes think we should be more useful, and happier, if Cawnpoor or Benares, not Calcutta, were our home. My visitations would be made with far more convenience, the expence of house-rent would be less to the Com-

pany, and our own expences of living would be reduced very considerably. The air, even of Cawnpoor, is, I apprehend, better than that of Bengal, and that of Benares decidedly so. The greater part of my business with Government may be done as well by letters as personal interviews; and, if the Archdeacon of Calcutta were resident there, it seems more natural that the Bishop of India should remain in the centre of his diocese. The only objection is the great number of Christians in Calcutta, and the consequent probability that my preaching is more useful there than it would be any where else. We may talk these points over when we meet.

God bless you and your dear children!

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Bheelwarra, Meywar, February* 18, 1825.

DEAREST LOVE,

I have just, thank God, received your letter of February 1st, and I am truly rejoiced at the favourable account which it gives of both our treasures.

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You say nothing of yourself, and I cannot help being uneasy lest your anxiety should do you harm. God forgive me! I often regret that I left you. Yet I hope and trust that He will take care of you, and I know that it is He only on whose care all must depend, whether I am present or absent. It is *this* only, and the feeling that I have the opportunity of doing *Him* service where I am going, which keeps me yet in suspense about turning back to you. *He* knows how gladly (if I thought myself justified in doing

it, now that all preparations have been made in Bombay to receive me) I should set my face eastward. I thought yesterday morning, when the drum beat for our march, of poor Tom Tough in Dibdin's ballad:—

> "The worst time of all was when the little ones were sickly,
> And if they'd live or die the doctor did not know,
> The word was given to weigh so sudden and so quickly,
> I thought my heart would break as I sung out, Yo heave oh!"

Yet if good news continues, I shall, like poor Tom Tough, persevere.

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Sometimes I would fain flatter myself that the children may still get so well before the end of this month, as to justify your sailing for Bombay. My own opinion is, I confess, that change of air, and sea air above all, is what they want, and that you will risk less by being removed from your present excellent advice, than by remaining in that cruel climate during the rainy season.

Had your own health been such as to enable or justify you in coming with me in the first instance, and our children had accompanied you, I am often tempted to think they would both have remained well. But God only knows what is best for us; and while we act for the best and trust in Him, there can be no ground for self-reproach. We both then did, undoubtedly, what we thought our duty, and it is possible that my present notions of the climate of Bengal are too unfavourable. Surely, however, we have no reason to think well of it!

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Adieu, dearest, God bless and protect you!—Direct to me at Mhow, if I do not go there your letters will be forwarded.

Reginald Calcutta.

TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

*Pertaubghur, Malwah, March* 1, 1825.

MY DEAR WYNN,

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In Hindostan, which name is confined by the natives to Upper India only, and more particularly to that part of it which was within the usual limits of the Mogul Empire, and is now subject to the Company, there are few natural curiosities, and the distinguished works of architecture are chiefly confined to the great cities and their vicinity. They are, however, far superior to all which I had expected, and very different from the idea generally formed of them in Europe. I had heard much of the airy and gaudy style of Oriental architecture, a notion, I apprehend, taken from that of China only, since solidity, solemnity, and a richness of ornament, so well managed as not to interfere with solemnity, are the characteristics of all the ancient buildings which I have met with in this country. I recollect no corresponding parts of Windsor at all equal to the entrance of the castle of Delhi and its marble hall of audience, and even Delhi falls very short of Agra in situation, in majesty of outline, in size, and the costliness and beauty of its apartments.

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They are not the Mussulmans only who have surprised me. At Benares, indeed, the Hindoo works are all small, but in the wild countries which I am now traversing, and where the Hindoos have been pretty much left to themselves, there are two palaces, Umeer and Jyepoor, surpassing all which I have seen of the Kremlin, or heard of the Alhambra; a third, Joudpoor, which I have

not seen, is said to be equal to either, and the Jain temples of Aboo, on the verge of the Western desert, are said to rank above them all.

Of the people, so far as their natural character is concerned, I have been led to form, on the whole, a very favourable opinion. They have, unhappily, many of the vices arising from slavery, from an unsettled state of society, and immoral and erroneous systems of religion. But they are men of high and gallant courage, courteous, intelligent, and most eager after knowledge and improvement, with a remarkable aptitude for the abstract sciences, geometry, astronomy, &c. and for the imitative arts, painting and sculpture. They are sober, industrious, dutiful to their parents, and affectionate to their children, of tempers almost uniformly gentle and patient, and more easily affected by kindness and attention to their wants and feelings than almost any men whom I have met with. Their faults seem to arise from the hateful superstitions to which they are subject, and the unfavourable state of society in which they are placed. But if it should please God to make any considerable portion of them Christians, they would, I can well believe, put the best of European Christians to shame. They are the sepoys and irregular horse of whom I chiefly speak, for of these it is that I have happened to see most, having taken all opportunities of conversing with my escort, and having, for several weeks together, had scarcely any body else to converse with. I find, however, that my opinion of both these classes of men is that of all the officers in the Company's service to whom I have named the subject; and, so far as my experience reaches, which certainly is not great, I have no reason to suppose that the classes whom I have mentioned, are not a fair average specimen of the other inhabitants of the country.

The English in the upper provinces are, of course, thinly scattered in proportion either to the multitude of the heathen, or the extent of territory. They are, however, more numerous than I expected, though there are very few, indeed, who are not in the

civil or military employ of Government. The indigo planters are chiefly confined to Bengal, and I have no wish that their number should increase in India. They are always quarrelling with, and oppressing the natives, and have done much in those districts where they abound, to sink the English character in native eyes. Indeed the general conduct of the lower order of Europeans in India is such, as to shew the absurdity of the system of free colonization which W—— is mad about.

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To return, however, to the English society in the upper provinces. It is of course composed of nearly the same elements with that of Calcutta, the officers who take their turns of duty here, being most of them at different times called by business or promotion to the Presidency. Each of the civil stations forms a little society within itself, composed of the Judge, the Collector, the Registrar, the Station Surgeon, and Postmaster. The military stations are strictly camps, composed of huts for the men, with thatched cottages for the officers, ranged in regular lines, with a hospital, and sometimes, though too seldom, a Church and chaplain.

Neither the civil nor military officers have much intercourse with the natives, though between officers and magistrates of a certain rank, and the natives of distinction, there is generally an occasional interchange of visits and civilities. Society both civil and military, is less formal up the country than in Calcutta, and this plainness and cordiality of manners increases as we approach the northern and western frontier, where every thing still remains, as they themselves call it, " Camp Fashion."

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I dined not long since with a Brigadier-General, where the feast consisted of boiled beef, roast mutton, boiled mutton, hashed mutton, mutton chops, and mutton broth. A man, however, would be be very fastidious who would quarrel with such fare as this, accompanied as it was with perfect good manners, and extremely amusing

and interesting conversation. The civilians live in more style, and appear in public with a train of attendants on horseback and foot.

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Yet even with this there is a plainness and freedom from restraint which they appear to lose when they come in sight of Government House, and which makes me apprehend that a life in Hindostan proper, is far happier, as well as more wholesome for body and mind, than on the banks of the Hooghly. Of course among these different functionaries there is an abundant difference of character and talent; but the impression made on my mind is favourable, on the whole, to their diligence and good intentions; nor can there be more useful or amiable characters than some of the elder servants of the Company, who, eschewing Calcutta altogether, have devoted themselves for many years to the advantage of the land in which their lot is thrown, and are looked up to, throughout considerable districts, with a degree of respectful attachment which it is not easy to believe counterfeited. Mr. Brooke, of Benares, is precisely a character of this description. Mr. Hawkins, of Bareilly, and Mr. Traill, the Judge of Almorah, are others, and Sir David Ochterlony would have been an example still more conspicuous, were it not for the injurious confidence which he is said to place in his servants.

But though I fully believe the influence of Britain to have been honestly employed for the benefit of India, and to have really produced great good to the country and its inhabitants, I have not been led to believe that our Government is generally popular, or advancing towards popularity. It is, perhaps, impossible that we should be so in any great degree; yet I really think there are some causes of discontent which it is in our own power, and which it is our duty to remove or diminish. One of these is the distance and haughtiness with which a very large proportion of the civil and military servants of the Company treat the upper and middling class of natives. Against their mixing much with us in society, there

are certainly many hindrances, though even their objection to eating with us might, so far as the Mussulmans are concerned, I think, be conquered by any popular man in the upper provinces, who made the attempt in a right way. But there are some of our amusements, such as private theatrical entertainments and the sports of the field, in which they would be delighted to share, and invitations to which would be regarded by them as extremely flattering, if they were not, perhaps with some reason, voted bores, and treated accordingly. The French, under Perron and Des Boignes, who in more serious matters left a very bad name behind them, had, in this particular, a great advantage over us, and the easy and friendly intercourse in which they lived with natives of rank, is still often regretted in Agra and the Dooab. This is not all, however. The foolish pride of the English absolutely leads them to set at nought the injunctions of their own Government. The Tusseeldars, for instance, or principal active officers of revenue, ought, by an order of council, to have chairs always offered them in the presence of their European superiors, and the same, by the standing orders of the army, should be done to the Soubahdars. Yet there are hardly six collectors in India who observe the former etiquette; and the latter, which was fifteen years ago never omitted in the army, is now completely in disuse. At the same time the regulations of which I speak are known to every Tusseeldar and Soubahdar in India, and they feel themselves aggrieved every time these civilities are neglected; men of old families are kept out of their former situation by this and other similar slights, and all the natives endeavour to indemnify themselves for these omissions on our part by many little pieces of rudeness, of which I have heard Europeans complain, as daily increasing among them.

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In almost every part of my journey, I have found the minds of the Europeans more favourably disposed to religion than I expected, and anxious, in a degree proportioned to their paucity, to avail themselves of every opportunity which offered for attending

the rites of the Church. The native Christians of the Roman Catholic persuasion amount, I am told, to some thousands, and do not bear a good character. Those who are members of the Church of England in this Presidency, have chiefly been converted by Archdeacon Corrie, and by his disciples, Bowley, Abdul Musseeh, and Anund Musseeh, and by Mr. Fisher of Meerut. Their number does not exceed, at most, five hundred adults, who are chiefly at the stations of Benares, Chunar, Buxar, Meerut, and Agra, a large proportion being the wives of European soldiers. Even the number is greater than might have been expected, when we consider how few years have passed since Mr. Corrie first came into the country. He was contemporary with Martyn, and before their time nothing was attempted here by the Church of England. I have made many enquiries, but cannot find that any jealousy on this head exists at present among the natives. Corrie, indeed, himself, from his pleasing manners, his candid method of conversing with them on religious topics, his perfect knowledge of Hindoostanee, and his acquaintance with the topics most discussed among their own learned men, is a great favorite among the pundits of Benares, and the syuds and other learned Mussulmans at Agra, who seem to like conversing with him even where they differ most in their opinion. This good man, with his wife and children, went with me as far as Lucknow, and he has since gone to pass the hot weather in the Dhoon, his health being, I grieve to say, in a very precarious condition. At the same time I lost the society of a very agreeable fellow-traveller, the son of Mr. Lushington of the Treasury. . . . . . . . My journey from thence to Delhi was, generally speaking, made alone; but I had then a medical man assigned to me by General Reynell. The want of such a person I had felt severely, both in the case of poor Stowe, and afterwards during my own illness, and when I had four men in my camp ill of jungle fever.

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Mr. Adam, in spite of all which has been said and written, is,

and uniformly has been, one of the most popular men in India. He is, perhaps, the only public man in whom, in any great degree, both Europeans and natives have confidence; and his absence from Calcutta during the early part of the war, and his present determination, which has just reached these provinces, to return to Europe, have been regarded by all, without exception, whom I have heard speak on the subject, as the heaviest calamities which could have befallen British India. I was Mr. Adam's guest for a few days at Almorah, and greatly pleased both with his manners and conversation; but he was then weak both in health and spirits, and my opinion of him has been formed rather from what I heard, than what I have myself known of him.

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The character which Malcolm has left behind him in Western and Central India, is really extraordinary. As political agent, he had many difficulties to contend with, of which the jealousy entertained of him, as a Madras officer, by the Bengal army, is not the least. But during his stay, he seems to have conciliated all classes of Europeans in a manner which hardly any other man could have done, while the native chiefs, whom I have seen, asked after him with an anxiety and regard which I could not think counterfeited, inasmuch as they did not pretend any thing equal to it when speaking of other great men.

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I have, I fear, wearied you, and have been infinitely longer than I myself anticipated; but I know how deep an interest you take in all which relates to this country, and, except these long despatches, and my daily prayers for you and yours, I have now no opportunity of shewing how sincerely I am,

Dear Wynn,

Your obliged and affectionate friend,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Doodeah, Guzerât, March 13th,* 1825.

Your letter of the 9th February has just been forwarded to me from Baroda. I need not say how great a comfort it was to me to hear from you again in the midst of these wilds, and when, for a week to come, I hardly flattered myself with that expectation. It is of four days later date than your last, and thank God the accounts continue favourable.

* * * * *

I am and have been in perfect health, and have performed my journey through all which was considered the adventurous part of the road, very peaceably and quietly. Nothing can be wilder or more savage than these jungles, but they contain many spots of great romantic beauty, though the mountains are certainly mere playthings after Himalaya. The various tribes of the countries through which I have passed interested me extremely; their language, the circumstances of their habitation, dress, and armour, their pastoral and agricultural way of life; their women grinding at the mill, their cakes baked on the coals, their corn trodden out by oxen, their maidens passing to the well, their travellers lodging in the streets, their tents, their camels, their shields, spears, and coats of mail; their Mussulmans with a religion closely copied from that of Moses, their Hindoo tribes worshipping the same abominations with the same rites as the ancient Canaanites; their false prophets swarming in every city, and foretelling good or evil as it suits the political views of their employers; their judges sitting in the gate, and their wild Bheels and Khoolies dwelling like the ancient Amorites in holes and clefts of the rocks, and coming down with sword and bow to watch the motions, or attack the baggage of the traveller, transported me back three thousand years, and I felt myself a contemporary of Joshua or Samuel!

I have a large packet of journal for you, which I shall keep

till I hear from you again, lest you should, after all, have sailed from Calcutta.

God bless you, dearest!

Reginald Calcutta.

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*Barreah, (Guzerât) March*, 1824.

My dear Wilmot,

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I have now, since the middle of last June, pretty nearly seen the eastern, northern, and western extremities of British India, having been to Dacca and Almorah, and having now arrived within a few days march of Ahmedabad, visiting by the way several of the most important, independant, or tributary principalities.

Of the way of performing this long journey, I was myself very imperfectly informed before I began it, and even then it was long before I could believe how vast and cumbersome an apparatus of attendance and supplies of every kind was necessary to travel in any degree of comfort or security. On the river, indeed, so long as that lasted, one's progress is easy and pleasant, (bating a little heat and a few storms,) carried on by a strong south-eastern breeze, in a very roomy and comfortable boat, against the stream of a majestic body of water; but it is after leaving the Ganges for the land-journey that, if not "the tug," yet no small part of the apparatus, provèntus et commeatus, of "war" commences.

It has been my wish, on many accounts, to travel without unnecessary display; my tents, equipments, and number of servants, are all on the smallest scale which comfort or propriety would admit of; they all fall short of what are usually taken by the collectors of districts, and in comparison with what the Commander in Chief had the year before last, I have found people disposed to

cry out at them as quite insufficient. Nor have I asked for a single soldier or trooper beyond what the commanding officers of districts have themselves offered as necessary and suitable; yet for myself and Dr. Smith, the united numbers amount to three elephants, above twenty camels, five horses, besides poneys for our principal servants, twenty-six servants, twenty-six bearers of burthens, fifteen clashees to pitch and remove tents, elephant and camel drivers, I believe, thirteen, and since we have left the Company's territories and entered Rajpootana, a guard of eighteen irregular horse and forty-five sepoys on foot. Nor is this all; for there is a number of petty tradesmen and other poor people whose road is the same as ours, and who have asked permission to encamp near us, and travel under our protection; so that yesterday, when I found it expedient, on account of the scarcity which prevails in these provinces, to order an allowance of flour, by way of Sunday dinner, to every person in the camp, the number of heads returned was 165. With all these formidable numbers, you must not, however, suppose that any exorbitant luxury reigns in my tent; our fare is, in fact, as homely as any two farmers in England sit down to; and if it be sometimes exuberant, the fault must be laid on a country where we must take a whole sheep or kid, if we would have animal food at all, and where neither sheep nor kid will, when killed, remain eatable more than a day or two. The truth is, that where people carry every thing with them, bed, tent, furniture, wine, beer, and crockery, for six months together, no small quantity of beasts of burden may well be supposed necessary; and in countries such as those which I have now been traversing, where every man is armed, where every third or fourth man, a few years since, was a thief by profession, and where, in spite of English influence and supremacy, the forests, mountains, and multitudes of petty sovereignties, afford all possible scope for the practical application of Wordsworth's "good old rule," you may believe me that it is neither pomp nor cowardice which has thus fenced your friend in with spears, shields, and bayonets. After all, though this way of

life has much that is monotonous and wearisome, though it grievously dissipates time and thought, and though it is almost incompatible with the pursuits in which I have been accustomed to find most pleasure, it is by no means the worst part of an Indian existence. It is a great point in this climate to be actually compelled to rise, day after day, before the dawn, and to ride from twelve to eighteen miles before breakfast. It is a still greater to have been saved a residence in Calcutta during the sultry months, and to have actually seen and felt frost, ice, and snow, on the summits of Kemaoon, and under the shadow of the Himalaya. And though the greater part of the Company's own provinces, except Kemaoon, are by no means abundant in objects of natural beauty or curiosity, the prospect offering little else than an uniform plain of slovenly cultivation, yet in the character and manners of the people there is much which may be studied with interest and amusement, and in the yet remaining specimen of Oriental pomp at Lucknow, in the decayed, but most striking and romantic, magnificence of Delhi, and in the Taje-Mahal of Agra, (doubtless one of the most beautiful buildings in the world) there is almost enough, even of themselves, to make it worth a man's while to cross the Atlantic and Indian oceans.

Since then I have been in countries of a wilder character, comparatively seldom trodden by Europeans, exempt during the greater part of their history from the Mussulman yoke, and retaining, accordingly, a great deal of the simplicity of early Hindoo manners, without much of that solemn and pompous uniformity which the conquests of the house of Timur seem to have impressed on all classes of their subjects. Yet here there is much which is interesting and curious. The people, who are admirably described (though I think in too favourable colours) by Malcolm in his Central India, are certainly a lively, animated and warlike race of men, though, chiefly from their wretched government, and partly from their still more wretched religion, there is hardly any vice either of slaves or robbers to which they do not seem addicted. Yet

such a state of society is, at least, curious, and resembles more the picture of Abyssinia, as given by Bruce, than that of any other country which I have seen or read of; while here too, there are many wild and woody scenes, which, though they want the glorious glaciers and peaks of the Himalaya, do not fall short in natural beauty of some of the loveliest glens which we went through, ten years ago, in North Wales; and some very remarkable ruins, which, though greatly inferior as works of art to the Mussulman remains in Hindostan proper, are yet more curious than them, as being more different from any thing which an European is accustomed to see or read of.

One fact, indeed, during this journey has been impressed on my mind very forcibly, that the character and situation of the natives of these great countries are exceedingly little known, and in many instances grossly misrepresented, not only by the English public in general, but by a great proportion of those also who, though they have been in India, have taken their views of its population, manners, and productions from Calcutta, or at most from Bengal. I had always heard, and fully believed till I came to India, that it was a grievous crime, in the opinion of the brahmins, to eat the flesh or shed the blood of any living creature whatever. I have now myself seen brahmins of the highest caste cut off the heads of goats as a sacrifice to Doorga; and I know from the testimony of brahmins, as well as from other sources, that not only hecatombs of animals are often offered in this manner as a most meritorious act (a Raja, about twenty-five years back, offered sixty thousand in one fortnight,) but that any person, brahmins not excepted, eats readily of the flesh of whatever has been offered up to one of their divinities, while among almost all the other castes, mutton, pork, venison, fish, any thing but beef and fowls, are consumed as readily as in Europe. Again, I had heard all my life of the gentle and timid Hindoos, patient under injuries, servile to their superiors, &c. Now, this is doubtless, to a certain extent, true of the Bengalees, (who, by the way, are never reckoned among

the nations of Hindostan, by those who speak the language of that country,) and there are a great many people in Calcutta who maintain that all the natives of India are alike. But even in Bengal, gentle as the exterior manners of the people are, there are large districts close to Calcutta, where the work of carding, burning, ravishing, murder, and robbery, goes on as systematically, and in nearly the same manner, as in the worst part of Ireland, and on entering Hindostan, properly so called, which in the estimation of the natives reaches from the Rajmahal hills to Agra, and from the mountains of Kemaoon to Bundelcund, I was struck and surprised to find a people equal in stature and strength to the average of European nations, despising rice and rice-eaters, feeding on wheat and barley-bread, exhibiting in their appearance, conversation, and habits of life, a grave, proud, and, decidedly, a martial character, accustomed universally to the use of arms and athletic exercises from their cradles, and preferring, very greatly, military service to any other means of livelihood. This part of their character, but in a ruder and wilder form, and debased by much alloy of treachery and violence, is conspicuous in the smaller and less good-looking inhabitants of Rajpootana and Malwah; while the mountains and woods, wherever they occur, shew specimens of a race entirely different from all these, and in a state of society scarcely elevated above the savages of New Holland, or New Zealand; and the inhabitants, I am assured, of the Deckan, and of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, are as different from those which I have seen, and from each other, as the French and Portuguese from the Greeks, Germans, or Poles; so idle is it to ascribe uniformity of character to the inhabitants of a country so extensive, and subdivided by so many almost impassable tracts of mountain and jungle; and so little do the majority of those whom I have seen deserve the gentle and imbecile character often assigned to them. Another instance of this want of information, which at the time of my arrival excited much talk in Bengal, was the assertion made in Parliament, I forget by whom, that "there was little or no sugar

cultivated in India, and that the sugar mostly used there came from Sumatra and Java." Now this even the cockneys of Calcutta must have known to be wrong, and I can answer for myself, that in the whole range of Calcutta, from Dacca to Delhi, and thence through the greater part of Rajpootana and Malwah, the raising of sugar is as usual a part of husbandry, as turnips or potatoes in England; and that they prepare it in every form, except the loaf, which is usually met with in Europe. This, however, is not the most material point in which the state of arts and society in India has been underrated. I met not long since with a speech by a leading member of the Scotch General Assembly, declaring his "conviction that the truths of Christianity could not be received by men in so rude a state as the East Indians; and that it was necessary to give them first a relish for the habits and comforts of civilized life before they could embrace the truths of the Gospel." The same slang (for it is nothing more) I have seen repeated in divers pamphlets, and even heard it in conversations at Calcutta. Yet, though it is certainly true that the lower classes of Indians are miserably poor, and that there are many extensive districts where, both among low and high, the laws are very little obeyed, and there is a great deal of robbery, oppression, and even ferocity, I know no part of the population, except the mountain tribes already mentioned, who can, with any propriety of language, be called uncivilized.

Of the unpropitious circumstances which I have mentioned, the former arises from a population continually pressing on the utmost limits of subsistence, and which is thus kept up, not by any dislike or indifference to a better diet, or more ample clothing, or more numerous ornaments than now usually fall to the peasant's share (for, on the contrary, if he has the means he is fonder of external shew and a respectable appearance, than those of his rank in many nations of Europe,) but by the foolish superstition, which Christianity only is likely to remove, which makes a parent regard it as unpropitious to allow his son to remain unmarried, and which couples together children of twelve or fourteen years of

age. The second has its origin in the long-continued misfortunes and intestine wars of India, which are as yet too recent (even when their causes have ceased to exist) for the agitation which they occasioned to have entirely sunk into a calm. But to say that the Hindoos or Mussulmans are deficient in any essential feature of a civilized people, is an assertion which I can scarcely suppose to be made by any who have lived with them. Their manners are, at least, as pleasing and courteous as those in the corresponding stations of life among ourselves; their houses are larger, and, according to their wants and climate, to the full as convenient as ours; their architecture is at least as elegant, and though the worthy Scotch divines may doubtless wish their labourers to be clad in "hodden grey," and their gentry and merchants to wear powder and mottled stockings, like worthy Mr. ——— and the other elders of his kirk-session, I really do not think that they would gain either in cleanliness, elegance, or comfort, by exchanging a white cotton robe for the completest suits of dittos. Nor is it true that in the mechanic arts they are inferior to the general run of European nations. Where they fall short of us (which is chiefly in agricultural implements and the mechanics of common life,) they are not, so far as I have understood of Italy and the south of France, surpassed in any great degree by the people of those countries. Their goldsmiths and weavers produce as beautiful fabrics as our own, and it is so far from true that they are obstinately wedded to their old patterns, that they shew an anxiety to imitate our models, and do imitate them very successfully. The ships built by native artists at Bombay are notoriously as good as any which sail from London or Liverpool. The carriages and gigs which they supply at Calcutta are as handsome, though not as durable, as those of Long Acre. In the little town of Monghyr, 300 miles from Calcutta, I had pistols, double-barrelled guns, and different pieces of cabinet-work brought down to my boat for sale, which in outward form (for I know no further) nobody but perhaps Mr. ——— could detect to be of Hindoo

origin; and at Delhi, in the shop of a wealthy native jeweller, I found broaches, ear-rings, snuff-boxes, &c. of the latest models (so far as I am a judge), and ornamented with French devices and mottos.

The fact is, that there is a degree of intercourse maintained between this country and Europe, and a degree of information existing among the people as to what passes there, which, considering how many of them neither speak nor read English, implies other channels of communication besides those which we supply, and respecting which I have been able as yet to obtain very little information. Among the presents sent last year to the Supreme Government by the little state of Ladak in Chinese Tartary, some large sheets of gilt leather, stamped with the Russian eagle, were the most conspicuous. A traveller, who calls himself a Transylvanian, but who is shrewdly suspected of being a Russian spy, was, when I was in Kemaoon, arrested by the commandant of our fortresses among the Himalaya mountains, and after all our pains to exclude foreigners from the service of the native princes, two chevaliers of the legion of honour were found, about twelve months ago, and are still employed in casting cannon and drilling soldiers for the Seik Raja, Runjeet Singh. This you will say is no more than we should be prepared to expect, but you probably would not suppose (what I believe is little, if at all, known in Russia itself,) that there is an ancient and still frequented place of Hindoo pilgrimage not many miles from Moscow, or that the secretary of the Calcutta Bible Society received, ten months ago, an application (by whom translated I do not know, but in very tolerable English,) from some priests on the shore of the Caspian sea, requesting a grant of Armenian Bibles. After this you will be the less surprised to learn that the leading events of the late wars in Europe (particularly Buonaparte's victories) were often known, or at least rumoured, among the native merchants in Calcutta before Government received any accounts from England, or that the suicide of an English minister (with the mistake, indeed, of its

being Lord Liverpool instead of the Marquis of Londonderry,) had become a topic of conversation in the "burrah bazar," (the native exchange) for a fortnight before the arrival of any intelligence by the usual channels.

With subjects thus inquisitive, and with opportunities of information, it is apparent how little sense there is in the doctrine that we must keep the natives of Hindostan in ignorance, if we would continue to govern them. The fact is, that they know enough already to do us a great deal of mischief if they should find it their interest to make the trial. They are in a fair way, by degrees, to acquire still more knowledge for themselves; and the question is, whether it is not the part of wisdom, as well as duty, to superintend and promote their education while it is yet in our power, and to supply them with such knowledge as will be at once most harmless to ourselves and most useful to them.

In this work the most important part is to give them a better religion. Knowing how strongly I feel on this subject, you will not be surprised at my placing it foremost. But even if Christianity were out of the question, and if when I had wheeled away the rubbish of the old pagodas, I had nothing better than simple Deism to erect in their stead, I should still feel some of the anxiety which now urges me. It is necessary to see idolatry, to be fully sensible of its mischievous effects on the human mind. But of all idolatries which I have ever read or heard of, the religion of the Hindoos, in which I have taken some pains to inform myself, really appears to me the worst, both in the degrading notions which it gives of the Deity; in the endless round of its burdensome ceremonies, which occupy the time and distract the thoughts, without either instructing or interesting its votaries; in the filthy acts of uncleanness and cruelty, not only permitted, but enjoined, and inseparably interwoven with those ceremonies; in the system of castes, a system which tends, more than any thing else the Devil has yet invented, to destroy the feelings of general benevolence, and to make nine-tenths of mankind the hopeless

slaves of the remainder; and in the total absence of any popular system of morals, or any single lesson which the people at large ever hear, to live virtuously and do good to each other. I do not say, indeed, that there are not some scattered lessons of this kind to be found in their ancient books; but those books are neither accessible to the people at large, nor are these last permitted to read them; and in general all the sins that a sudra is taught to fear are, killing a cow, offending a brahmin, or neglecting one of the many frivolous rites by which their deities are supposed to be conciliated. Acccordingly, though the general sobriety of the Hindoos (a virtue which they possess in common with most inhabitants of warm climates,) affords a very great facility to the maintenance of public order and decorum, I really never have met with a race of men whose standard of morality is so low, who feel so little apparent shame on being detected in a falsehood, or so little interest in the sufferings of a neighbour, not being of their own caste or family; whose ordinary and familiar conversation is so licentious; or, in the wilder and more lawless districts, who shed blood with so little repugnance. The good qualities which there are among them (and thank God there is a great deal of good among them still) are, in no instance that I am aware of, connected with, or arising out of, their religion, since it is in no instance to good deeds or virtuous habits of life that the future rewards in which they believe are promised. Their bravery, their fidelity to their employers, their temperance, and (wherever they are found) their humanity, and gentleness of disposition, appear to arise exclusively from a natural happy temperament, from an honourable pride in their own renown, and the renown of their ancestors; and from the goodness of God, who seems unwilling that his image should be entirely defaced even in the midst of the grossest error. The Mussulmans have a far better creed, and though they seldom either like the English, or are liked by them, I am inclined to think are, on the whole, a better people. Yet even with them, the forms of their worship have a natural tendency to make men hypocrites,

and the overweening contempt with which they are inspired for all the world beside, the degradation of their women by the system of polygamy, and the detestable crimes, which, owing to this degradation, are almost universal, are such as, even if I had no ulterior hope, would make me anxious to attract them to a better or more harmless system.

In this work, thank God, in those parts of India which I have visited, a beginning has been made, and a degree of success obtained, at least commensurate to the few years during which our Missionaries have laboured; and it is still going on in the best and safest way, as the work of private persons alone, and although not forbidden, in no degree encouraged by Government. In the meantime, and as an useful auxiliary to the Missionaries, the establishment of elementary schools for the lower classes and for females, is going on to a very great extent, and might be carried to any conceivable extent to which our pecuniary means would carry us. Nor is there any measure from which I anticipate more speedy benefit than the elevation of the rising generation of females to their natural rank in society, and giving them, (which is all that, in any of our schools, we as yet venture to give,) the lessons of general morality extracted from the Gospel, without any direct religious instruction. These schools, such of them at least as I have any concern with, are carried on without any help from Government. Government has, however, been very liberal in its grants, both to a Society for National Education, and in the institution and support of two Colleges of Hindoo students of riper age, the one at Benares, the other at Calcutta. But I do not think any of these Institutions, in the way after which they are at present conducted, likely to do much good. In the elementary schools supported by the former, through a very causeless and ridiculous fear of giving offence to the natives, they have forbidden the use of the Scriptures or any extracts from them, though the moral lessons of the Gospel are read by all Hindoos who can get hold of them, without scruple, and with much attention; and though their exclusion is tantamount to excluding

all moral instruction from their schools, the Hindoo sacred writings having nothing of the kind, and, if they had, being shut up from the majority of the people by the double fence of a dead language, and an actual prohibition to read them, as too holy for common eyes or ears. The defects of the latter will appear, when I have told you that the actual state of Hindoo and Mussulman literature, mutatis mutandis, very nearly resembles what the literature of Europe was before the time of Galileo, Copernicus, and Bacon. The Mussulmans take their logic from Aristotle, filtered through many successive translations and commentaries; and their metaphysical system is professedly derived from Plato, ("Filatoun.") The Hindoos have systems not very dissimilar from these, though, I am told, of greater length, and more intricacy; but the studies in which they spend most of their time, are the acquisition of the Sanscrit, and the endless refinements of its grammar, prosody, and poetry. Both have the same Natural Philosophy, which is also that of Aristotle in Zoology and Botany, and Ptolemy in Astronomy, for which the Hindoos have forsaken their more ancient notions of the seven seas, the six earths, and the flat base of Padalon, supported on the back of a tortoise. By the science which they now possess, they are some of them able to foretell an eclipse, or compose an almanac; and many of them derive some little pecuniary advantage from pretensions to judicial astrology. In medicine and chemistry they are just sufficiently advanced to talk of substances being moist, dry, hot, &c. in the third or fourth degree; to dissuade from letting blood, or physicking, on a Tuesday, or under a particular aspect of the heavens, and to be eager in their pursuit of the philosopher's stone, and the elixir of immortality.

The task of enlightening the studious youth of such a nation would seem to be a tolerably straight-forward one. But though, for the college in Calcutta, (not Bishop's College, remember, but the Vidalaya, or Hindoo College,) an expensive set of instruments has been sent out, and it seems intended that the natural sciences

should be studied there, the managers of the present institution take care that their boys should have as little time as possible for such pursuits, by requiring from them all, without exception, a laborious study of Sanscrit, and all the useless, and worse than useless, literature of their ancestors. A good deal of this has been charged (and in some little degree charged with justice,) against the exclusive attention paid to Greek and logic, till lately, in Oxford. But in Oxford we have never been guilty (since a better system was known in the world at large,) of teaching the physics of Aristotle, however we may have paid an excessive attention to his metaphysics and dialectics.

In Benares, however, I found in the institution supported by Government, a professor lecturing on astronomy after the system of Ptolemy and Albunazar, while one of the most forward boys was at the pains of casting my horoscope; and the majority of the school were toiling at Sanscrit grammar. And yet the day before, in the same holy city, I had visited another college, founded lately by a wealthy Hindoo banker, and entrusted by him to the management of the Church Missionary Society, in which, besides a grammatical knowledge of the Hindoostanee language, as well as Persian and Arabic, the senior boys could pass a good examination in English grammar, in Hume's History of England, Joyce's Scientific Dialogues, the use of the globes, and the principal facts and moral precepts of the Gospel, most of them writing beautifully in the Persian, and very tolerably in the English character, and excelling most boys I have met with in the accuracy and readiness of their arithmetic. The English officer who is now in charge of the Benares Vidalaya is a clever and candid young man, and under him I look forward to much improvement. . . . . Ram Mohun Roy, a learned native, who has sometimes been called, though I fear without reason, a Christian, remonstrated against this system last year, in a paper which he sent me to be put into Lord Amherst's hands, and which, for its good English, good sense, and forcible arguments, is a real curiosity, as coming from an Asiatic.

I have not since been in Calcutta, and know not whether any improvement has occurred in consequence. But from the unbounded attachment to Sanscrit literature displayed by some of those who chiefly manage those affairs, I have no great expectation of the kind. Of the value of the acquirements which so much is sacrificed to retain, I can only judge from translations, and they certainly do not seem to me worth picking out of the rubbish under which they were sinking. Some of the poetry of the Mahabarah I am told is good, and I think a good deal of the Ramayuna pretty. But no work has yet been produced which even pretends to be authentic history. No useful discoveries in science are, I believe, so much as expected, and I have no great sympathy with those students who value a worthless tract, merely because it calls itself old, or a language which teaches nothing, for the sake of its copiousness and intricacy. If I were to run wild after Oriental learning, I should certainly follow that of the Mussulmans, whose histories seem really very much like those of Europe, and whose poetry, so far as I am yet able to judge, has hardly had justice done to it in the ultra flowery translations which have appeared in the West. But after all, I will own that my main quarrel with the institutions which I have noticed, is their needless and systematic exclusion of the Gospels, since they not only do less good than they might have done, but are actually, in my opinion, productive of serious harm, by awakening the dormant jealousy of the native against the schools which pursue a different system.

During my long journey through the northern half of this vast country, I have paid all the attention I could spare to a topic on which Schlegel bitterly reproves the English for their inattention to, the architectural antiquities of Hindostan. I had myself heard much of these before I set out, and had met with many persons both in Europe and at Calcutta (where nothing of the kind exists) who spoke of the present natives of India as a degenerate race, whose inability to rear such splendid piles was a proof that these last belong to a remote antiquity. I have seen, however,

enough to convince me, both that the Indian masons and architects of the present day only want patrons sufficiently wealthy, or sufficiently zealous, to do all which their ancestors have done ; and that there are very few structures here which can, on any satisfactory grounds, be referred to a date so early as the greater part of our own cathedrals. Often in Upper Hindostan, and still more frequently in Rajpootana and Malwah, I have met with new and unfinished shrines, cisterns, and ghâts, as beautifully carved, and as well proportioned as the best of those of an earlier date. And though there are many buildings and ruins which exhibit a most venerable appearance, there are several causes in this country which produce this appearance prematurely. In the first instance, we ourselves have a complex impression made on us by the sight of edifices so distant from our own country, and so unlike whatever we have seen there. We multiply, as it were, the geographical and moral distance into the chronological, and can hardly persuade ourselves that we are contemporaries with an object so far removed in every other respect. Besides this, however, the finest masonry in these climates is sorely tried by the alternate influence of a pulverizing sun, and a continued three months' rain. The wild fig tree, (peepul, or ficus religiosa,) which no Hindoo can root out, or even lop without a deadly sin, soon sows its seeds, and fixes its roots in the joints of the arching, and being of rapid growth at the same time, in a very few years increases its picturesque and antique appearance, and secures its eventual destruction ; lastly, no man in this country repairs or completes what his father has begun, preferring to begin something else, by which his own name may be remembered. Accordingly, in Dacca are many fine ruins, which at first impressed me with a great idea of their age. Yet Dacca is a modern city, founded, or at least raised from insignificance under Shah Jehanguire in A. D. 1608 ; and the tradition of the place is, that these fine buildings were erected by European architects in the service of the then governor. At Benares, the principal temple has an appearance so venerable, that one might suppose it to have

stood unaltered ever since the Greta Yug, and that Menu and Capila had performed austerities within its precincts. Yet it is historically certain that all the Hindoo temples of consequence in Benares were pulled down by Aurungzebe, the contemporary of Charles the Second, and that the present structure must have been raised since that time. The observatories of Benares, Delhi, and Jyepoor, I heard spoken of in the carelessness of conversation, not only as extremely curious in themselves, (which they certainly are,) but as monuments of the ancient science of the Hindoos. All three, however, are known to be the work of the Rajah Jye Singh, who died in 1742.

A remote antiquity is, with better reason, claimed for some idols of black-stone, and elegant columns of the same material, which have been collected in different parts of the districts of Rhotas, Bulnem, &c. These belong to the religion of a sect (the Buddhists) of which no remains are now found in those provinces. But I have myself seen images exactly similar in the newly-erected temples of the Jains, a sect of the Buddhists, still wealthy and numerous in Guzerât, Rajpootana, and Malwah: and in a country where there is literally no history, it is impossible to say how long since or how lately they may have lost their ground in the more eastern parts of Gundwana. In the wilds which I have lately been traversing, at Chittore Ghur more particularly, there are some very beautiful buildings, of which the date was obviously assigned at random, and which might be 500 or 1000, or 150 years old, for all their present guardians know about the matter. But it must always be borne in mind, that 1000 years are as easily said as 10, and that in the mouth of a Cicerone they are sometimes thought to sound rather better. The oldest things which I have seen, of which the date could be at all ascertained, are some detached blocks of marble, with inscriptions, but of no appalling remoteness; and two remarkable pillars of black mixed metal, in a Patan fort near Delhi, and at Cuttab-Minar, in the same neighbourhood; both covered with inscriptions, which nobody can now read, but both mentioned in Mussulman history as in their present situation, at

the time when the "believers" conquered Delhi, about A.D. 1000. But what is this to the date of the Parthenon? or how little can these trifling relics bear comparison with the works of Greece and Egypt! Ellora and Elephanta I have not yet seen; I can believe all which is said of their size and magnificence; but they are without date or inscription; they are, I understand, not mentioned, even incidentally, in any Sanscrit manuscript. Their images, &c. are the same with those now worshipped in every part of India, and there have been many Rajas and wealthy individuals in every age of Indian history, who have possessed the means of carving a huge stone quarry into a cathedral. To our cathedrals, after all, they are, I understand, very inferior in size. All which can be known is, that Elephanta must probably have been begun (whether it was ever finished seems very doubtful) before the arrival of the Portuguese at Bombay; and that Ellora may reasonably be concluded to have been erected in a time of peace under a Hindoo prince, and therefore either before the first Afghan conquest, or subsequently during the recovered independence of that part of Candeish and the Deckan. This is no great matter certainly, and it *may* be older; but all I say is, that we have no reason to conclude it is so, and the impression on my mind decidedly accords with Mill, that the Hindoos after all, though they have doubtlessly existed from very great antiquity, as an industrious and civilized people, had made no great progress in the arts, and took all their notions of magnificence from the models furnished by their Mahommedan conquerors.

We are now engaged, as you are aware, in a very expensive and tedious war in countries whither the Mahommedans were never able to penetrate. This tediousness, together with the partial reverses which the armies have sustained, has given rise to all manner of evil reports among the people of Hindostan, and to a great deal of grumbling and discontent among the English. After all, I cannot myself perceive that there is any body to blame. Every body cried out for war in the first instance,

as necessary to the honour of the Government, and murmured greatly against Lord Amherst, for not being more ready than he was to commence it. Of the country which we were to invade no intelligence could be obtained; and in fact our armies have had little to contend with, except a most impracticable and unknown country. It is unfortunate, however, that after a year and a half of war we should, except in point of dear-bought experience, be no further advanced than at the beginning, and there are very serious grounds for apprehending, that if any great calamity occurred in the East, a storm would follow on our north-western and western frontier, which, with our present means, it would be by no means easy to allay. Something, however, has been gained; if we can do little harm to the Birmans, it is evident, from their conduct in the field, that, beyond their own jungles, they can do still less harm to us. And the inhabitants of Calcutta, who, about this time of year, were asking leave to send their property into the citadel, and packing off their wives and children across the river, will hardly again look forward to seeing their war-boats on the salt-water lake, or the golden umbrellas of their chiefs erected on the top of St. John's Cathedral. I was then thought little better than a madman for venturing to Dacca. Now the members of government are called all manner of names, because their troops have found unexpected difficulty in marching to Ummerapoora. . . . . . . . . . .

For me there are very many ingredients of happiness; much to be seen, much to be learned, and much, I almost fear too much, to be done or attempted. I have been hitherto so fortunate as to be on the best possible terms with the Government, and on very friendly terms with nine out of ten of my few clergy; and in my present journey I have, I hope, been the means of doing some good, both to them and their congregations. Indeed my journey has been perfectly professional; and, though I certainly did not shut my eyes or ears by the way, I have been at no place which was not either a scene of duty, or in the direct and natural way to one. And every where I am bound to say I have met with great kind-

ness and attention from the local magistrates, down to the European soldiers, and from the Rajas and Kings down to the poor native Christians.

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO R. J. WILMOT HORTON, ESQ.

*Bombay, May* 10, 1825.

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The recent invasion of Cutch, by some of the wild people of the Sindian provinces, which at one time menaced serious consequences, has now subsided, and was, probably, only an effect of the dismal distress from drought and famine, under which all those miserable and turbulent countries are now suffering. But the attention of all India is fixed on the siege of Bhurtpoor, in Rajpootana, on the event of which, far more than on any thing which may happen in the Birman empire, the renown of the British arms, and the permanency of the British Empire in Asia must depend. The Jâts are the finest people in bodily advantages and apparent martial spirit whom I have seen in India, and their country one of the most fertile and best cultivated. Having once beaten off Lord Lake from their city, they have ever since not only regarded themselves as invincible, but have been so esteemed by the greater part of the Maharattas, Rajpoots, &c. who have always held up their example as the rallying point and main encouragement to resistance, insomuch that, even when I was passing through Malwah, "gallantee shows," like those carried about by the Savoyards, were exhibited at the fairs and in the towns of that wild district, which displayed, among other patriotic and popular

scenes, the red-coats driven back in dismay from the ramparts, and the victorious Jâts pursuing them sabre in hand.

Their fortress, too, has really all the advantages which can arise from an excellent situation, an imposing profile, a deep and wide ditch, a good shew of cannon, and a very numerous and hardy garrison, while the means which Sir D. Ochterlony has been able to collect against it, though really far more considerable than could, under all circumstances, have been expected, are described, in a letter from General Reynell, as *very barely* adequate to all which they have to do; while the present intensely hot season is a circumstance greatly unfavourable. Still I do not find that any of my military acquaintance despond. On the contrary, they all appear to rejoice at the opportunity offered for effacing the former very injurious impression which had been made by Lord Lake's failure, though they admit that, should our army fail again, few events would go so near to fulfil the shouts of the mob a few months back in the streets of Delhi,—"Company ka raj ko guia!" "The rule of the Company is at an end!" Meantime, heartily as I desire the success of our arms, and the more so because the cause, I believe, is really a just one, I am very sorry for the Jâts themselves, with whose rough independent manner I was much pleased, and who shewed me all possible civilities and hospitality in passing through their country. One strange feature in the case is, that the war and siege have been commenced by Sir D. Ochterlony on his own sole authority, and without any communication with the Supreme Government! I believe he was fully justified by the urgency of the case; but this is one among many proofs which have fallen under my notice, how impossible it is to govern these remote provinces from Calcutta, and how desirable it is to establish a separate Presidency for Northern and Central India, either at Agra, Meerut, or, perhaps, Saugor.

In the midst of these troubles, and of those other smaller blood-lettings which are pretty constantly going on in one part or other of this vast country, I have had much reason to be thankful

for my own peaceable progress through districts where, a very few weeks sooner or later, I should have met with obstacles far beyond the reach of that little military array which I described in my last letter. I passed Bhurtpoor a month before the war began, and Jyepoor little more than a month after the revolution which had taken place there was tolerably settled. A similar good fortune attended me with regard to a rebellion in Doongurpoor, and a very sanguinary quarrel between two rival Mussulman sects, at Mundipoor; while, in crossing the jungles between Malwah and Guzerât, had I been ten days later, I should have found the road literally impassable, through the exhaustion of the wells in the present drought, and the almost total drying up of the Mhye and its tributary streams. As it was, I suffered from nothing but heat, which, in Guzerât I found very intense, the thermometer frequently standing at 109° in my tent. My medical companion, and most of my servants, had fevers. I myself weathered the march very tolerably, though I certainly was not sorry to find myself "once more upon the waters, yet once more," at Surat. From that city I embarked on the 18th of April for Bombay, a pleasant three days' passage. This is a very beautiful little island, though now sadly burnt up. As a town and place of residence, it cannot compare with Calcutta, though in climate, at this season, it is superior. Its main advantage, however, is the society of Mr. Elphinstone, one of the ablest and most gentlemanly men I have ever known, and possessing a degree of popularity and personal influence, as well as an intimate knowledge of every person and thing within the Government, which I never saw before, except, perhaps, in the Duke of Richelieu, at Odessa.

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REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO JOHN THORNTON, ESQ.

*Bombay, May* 12, 1825.

I have owed you a letter so long that I feel now, like other tardy debtors, almost ashamed to pay it. My silence, however, has not been occasioned by my having ceased, I may say even for a day, to recollect and love you, but from various causes arising out of the way of life in which I have been engaged, which have left me little time to attend to the epistolary duties of friendship.

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During the whole of my residence in this country, and more than ever since, in the course of this long journey, I have been enabled to see and hear a good deal of the advantages and disadvantages of an Indian life, your boys have been very frequently in my mind, and my general impression has certainly been that, though, except under very unusual circumstances, great wealth is now no longer to be looked for in India, and though the dangers of the climate are, I think, rather underrated than otherwise in Europe, the service still is one of the best within an Englishman's reach, as affording to every young man of talent, industry, and good character, a field of honourable and useful exertion, and a prospect of moderate competency, without any greater risk of health and life than, with such views before him, and with a reliance on God's good providence, a Christian is fully justified in encountering. One great and grievous evil,—the long and almost hopeless separation from country and friends, is now greatly abated by the plan said to be adopted by the Court of Directors, which not only secures to their civil servants a pension after a certain length of residence in India, but allows likewise of a furlough after a portion of that time is expired. And I need hardly, I trust, say that during the time which your sons must be separated from you, I hope they will always look on me as their uncle, and that it will be a pride and pleasure to my wife and myself, to supply as

far as we can supply, the place of Mrs. Thornton and yourself to them.

With regard to the moral and religious dangers of India, I am not justified in concealing from you that they are still many and great. I do not, indeed, think that the temptations to gross immorality are more numerous here than elsewhere. Drunkenness is almost unknown in good society, and its effect on the health are so rapid and terrible, and it is regarded with so much dislike and disgust by the majority of those by whose influence public opinion is guided, that there is little reason to apprehend its ever becoming fashionable. And connection with native women, though sadly common among the elder officers of the army, is, so far as I can learn, among the younger servants either civil or military, at present by no means a fashionable vice. It is the same with gambling, the turf, and other similar pursuits; they are not followed by many, and those who do follow them are, I think, regarded by the young men themselves as more or less raffs. The dangers of India seem to me to be, in Calcutta,—ostentatious expence and continued dissipation; and in the remoter stations still more than in Calcutta, a forgetfulness and disuse of the external means of grace and godliness. A greater danger than either of these has been very common, but is now I am told less frequent or less prominent than it used to be, I mean an unbelief in, and denial of Christianity. Of this last it was not likely that I should myself see many instances, but that it is sometimes to be met with I have learned from a very amiable young man, who had heard some specious and mischievous arguments during the course of his residence which had disquieted him a good deal, and of which I am happy to believe that I succeeded in effacing the impression. But these dangers, great as they are, are certainly not peculiar to India. They will be found more or less every where, where young persons are left to themselves, as all young men must be in a great degree at an early age. And there are, by God's mercy, some countervailing circumstances which make me think both that India is, in

these respects, less dangerous now than it was, and which may afford a reasonable hope to a Christian parent that a youth well-grounded in his principles will pass unharmed through the trial. In the first place, a boy who desires to live a wise and Christian life, however he may be endangered by bad example and bad advice, will at least not find himself alone in his good resolutions. He will almost every where throughout India find others of his own age to countenance him, both in the civil and military services, and many of these men too highly esteemed for talents and expectations to admit of the cause which they support being depressed or generally unpopular. I have met, to my very great comfort and satisfaction, with many of these good young men, more (as might be expected from their greater number) in the military than the civil service, but enough in both to give a reasonable hope that if your sons come out such as I hope to see them, they will find many like-minded with themselves, and no want of friends of the best and most valuable description.

Another great blessing, and one which must contribute greatly to continue and increase the advantage which I have just mentioned, is that, I think, the greater part of the young married women who make up in the Mofussil stations almost the only female society, and who exert, as may be expected, a very important influence over, not their husbands only, but their husbands' friends and guests, are domestic, well-disposed, and religious. Married for the most part very early, thrown by the circumstances of the climate, and by the active and continual employments in which the men are engaged, very much on themselves, and to seek amusement in reading or with their children, they are, even in Calcutta, more generally domestic, retired, and quiet than might have been expected, and in the country stations, where their seclusion is necessarily greater, they most of them appeared to me to have thought more, and to have less reluctance to converse on religion than the generality of females in England.

Another favourable circumstance to the maintenance and

increase of Christian principles in India, is the character of the great majority of the Clergy now amongst us. In this respect a very happy change has taken place within the last few years.

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Out of twenty-six resident Clergymen of the Church of England on the Bengal establishment, with the greater number of whom I am personally acquainted, I find none whose lives are tainted with the suspicion of immorality, none who are habitually careless in the discharge of their duty, and except one unfortunate case . . . . . . hardly any thing has occurred to give me pain during my visitation, while there are really some among them whose names would rank high for talent, temper, zeal, soundness of doctrine, and holiness of life, in the best and brightest periods of ecclesiastical history. Such an one is my excellent friend Corrie, whose character, much as I valued and loved him before, I only learned to understand and appreciate fully during my journey through Hindostan, from tracing in almost every part of it the effects of his labours, and the honour in which his name is held both by Christians, Hindoos, and Mussulmans.

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This is, however, a parenthesis. I am now speaking of the means of religious improvement afforded to a young man in India, and I am very thankful to be able to say, that though we are still most lamentably short of hands, for one and thirty chaplains is a very bare complement, and it will seldom happen that more than one half of those will be resident and effective at the same time; still, if a young man can get the opportunity of hearing a sermon in Bengal, the chance is, that he will hear what will do him good. Nor is this all; if a young man is actually religious, I know few countries where he runs so little risk of having his religion embittered by religious controversy. Except in Calcutta itself, and its neighbourhood, there is actually no sect worth naming, except the Church of England. . . . . All the Scotch who are worth

having, when out of Calcutta, come to church with us, and many officers of that nation have been confirmed by me, as an indication of their purpose to join us entirely. And though there are some hot-headed zealots of the two parties within the Church, whom I have some difficulty in keeping from occasional quarrels, few countries can be found in which the feuds between Calvinists and Arminians are at present heard less of than in India. All the members of the Church are, in fact, busy, and there are so many, and so important objects at which all must labour, that we have neither time nor hands to spare, for calling names and throwing dirt in each other's faces.

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Under all these circumstances, with the advantage of a good education in England, and with those continued and prevailing prayers with which you and their mother will follow them where-ever they go, I certainly see no reason to dissuade you from trusting your boys in this other world, for such it doubtless may be called, when compared with the scenery, habits, and circumstances of Europe. Heaven grant that both in a worldly and heavenly view, the experiment may be a happy one!

Thus far I had written six weeks ago, and soon after my arrival within the bounds of the Bombay Presidency. I had then no immediate opportunity of sending my letter. I have been since so much engaged, that I have, from week to week, been induced to defer putting the finishing stroke to it. What follows must be chiefly on business. I hope the Church Missionary Society received, long since, my acknowledgments of their continued and splendid munificence to Bishop's College. It is my hope, as soon as I return to Calcutta, to carry into effect their wishes, in founding one Scholarship, at least, to bear their name, and to hold the same place in the establishment with those of the other Societies, and to increase the numbers in succeeding years to any amount they may wish, and the limits of the building may suffice for. In the first

instance I have been led to apply their bounty to the completion of the College buildings, more particularly the chapel, where it will be acknowledged by an inscription, and for which the bare funds of the institution were perfectly insufficient. Indeed, we are still exceedingly poor. The expence, both of building and of the monthly bills, has far exceeded every calculation which Bishop Middleton had made; and though the diet, &c. both of students and missionaries, is conducted on a scale of the utmost frugality consistent with health and decency, all our means would be insufficient, if it were not for the hopes which I am endeavouring to realize, of a general collection and subscription in the different Presidencies of India. In every thing but money the College goes on as well as an infant establishment can do. The Principal is really indefatigable, and the five youths who are now under his care are spoken of by him as most promising, and in terms not only of approbation, but affection.

I will only add, that the more which I see of India, the more I am convinced that its conversion will be best accomplished by the agency of natives of the country, and that we have already almost reached the moment when it will be no longer desirable to incur the great expence of sending out Missionaries from Europe.

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I really hope that a little energy and prudence only are necessary, with God's blessing, to make your society a far more efficient source of light and health to India, than it has yet been; and for our augmented endeavours there is great and blessed encouragement in the good which has already been done. I was not able to visit Burdwan; but in the stations which I did visit, I had the happiness of confirming and administering the Sacrament to above two hundred native converts, all, so far as I could learn, well-informed in their religion; and all, so far as I could judge, actuated by a devotional spirit, the meekest, the most intense, and touching,

which in any body of people I ever witnessed. Nor was the promise held out by the children, the schools, and the individuals scattered through the country, whom I met from time to time, but who could not be collected to receive confirmation, less delightful to me. Surely this is no inconsiderable progress, when we take into consideration the few years that the Church of England has made any attempt to spread her doctrines in the north of India.

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I have now about half finished the visitation of my diocese, a task which has employed me above ten months of almost constant travelling, during which I have seldom slept under any roof but that of my tent, or in the cabin of my boat, and have traversed, I should guess, not much less than three thousand miles either by water or on horseback. During all this time I have been greatly favoured in the general health and protection which God has extended to me, in His help under a sharp fever, when I was far removed from all medical aid, and without any friend or countryman near me; in being preserved from infection in districts where several of my people fell dangerously ill, and from wars and violence in those parts of central India, where tranquillity can never long be counted on.

I passed Bhurtpoor about a month before, and Jyepoor a month after, disturbances which would have, probably, put an effectual stop to my progress; and a similar good fortune attended me in the neighbourhoods of Mundissore and Doongurpoor, as well as in Guzerât, all which districts have been more or less disturbed and dangerous. In almost every instance I met with hospitality and kindness not only from my own countrymen, but from the native princes; and I have reason to hope that I have made myself not unacceptable either to Christians or heathens. Meantime I have found much to interest and delight me during my long journey. I thought much of you and of my long ramble with you, as I stood on the cedar-tufted mountains of Kemaoon, 8000

feet above the level of the sea, and with the range of Himalaya 25,800 feet high, within forty miles distance. I thought of you again, and wished much for you, while visiting the noble marble palace of Delhi and Agra; and while I was comparing, in recollection, my Rajpoot and Maharatta escorts, with our Cossac friends in the Cuban. By the way, "Cosâk" is the common word for a predatory horseman all through northern and central India. Still, however, with all these qualifications of curiosity, I have had many things to keep me from forgetting the peculiar and appropriate object of my journey, as you will believe when I mention, that though many of my Sundays were, of course, necessarily passed in wildernesses remote from European or Christian society, yet I have found occasion and opportunity to preach above fifty times since I left Calcutta. And though I have certainly not shut my eyes to the different objects of interest and beauty near which my route carried me, I can truly say that I have never gone out of my way in pursuit of such objects, and have been no where where I had not professional duties to perform, or which was not in the direct road to some scene of such duties. After all, in looking back at the vast and promising field which I have passed, my heart is ready to sink when I recollect how much more I might have done, and how many things I have omitted, or hurried over. Another time, if I am spared to perform the same journey again, I shall know better how to arrange my plans, and Heaven grant that I may be more diligent in carrying them into effect! My wife and little Emily came hither by sea ten days ago.

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We are to remain here till after the first fall of rain. Then I purpose to march to Poonah, and after returning hither to sail to Calcutta, taking Cannanore, Cochin, the Syrian Churches, and Ceylon in my way. I trust to be at home again by the beginning of the cool weather. Madras, and the remainder of India, Bangalore, Hydrabad, and Nagpoor, I must reserve to another year. I have much to do in all these places, but I cannot without inconvenience

to the whole diocese, be so long absent from Calcutta as would be necessary for me to visit all India in a single journey.

Dear Thornton,

Ever your obliged and affectionate friend,

Reginald Calcutta.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD GRENVILLE.

*Bombay, June* 1, 1825.

My Lord,

I beg your Lordship to accept my best thanks for your obliging letter, as well as for the valuable and interesting present which it announces. The latter is, I trust, awaiting my arrival at Calcutta, the former reached me a few weeks since on my arrival within the bounds of this Government. It will, on every account, give me most sincere pleasure to find myself able in the slightest degree to contribute to the completeness of your Lordship's collection of plants, and I have written to Mr. Traill, a gentleman who holds the chief civil employment in Kemaoon, and who is more intimately acquainted than most persons whom I know with the forests and glaciers of the Himalaya, requesting him to send down to Calcutta, with the precautions your Lordship suggests, some acorns of the mountain Ilex, and some cones of all the different species of pine which he can obtain within the limits of his jurisdiction, the soil, climate, and productions of which differ, as I understand, in no material respect from those of the other and unconquered provinces of the Nypâlese monarchy. A visit which I paid to those glorious mountains in November and December last, was unfortunately too much limited by the short time at my

disposal, and by the advanced season, to admit of my penetrating far into their recesses, nor am I so fortunate as to be able to examine their productions with the eye of a botanist. But though the woods are very noble, and the general scenery possesses a degree of magnificence such as I had never before either seen or (I may say) imagined, the species of pine which I was able to distinguish were not numerous. The most common is a tall and stately, but brittle, fir, in its general character not unlike the Scottish, but with a more branching head, which in some degree resembles that of the Italian pine. Another, and of less frequent occurrence, is a splendid tree with gigantic arms and dark narrow leaves, which is accounted sacred, and chiefly seen in the neighbourhood of ancient Hindoo temples, and which struck my unscientific eye as very nearly resembling the cedar of Lebanon. But these I found flourishing at near 9000 feet above the level of the sea, and where the frost was as severe at night as is usually met with at the same season in England. But between this, which was the greatest height that I climbed, and the limit of perpetual snow, there is doubtless ample space for many other species of plants, to some of which a Dropmore winter must be a season of vernal mildness. The ilex, which was the only species of oak I saw, grows to a great size on the sides of the secondary range, mingled with the walnut, the crab, the small black cherry, and a truly European underwood of blackthorn, brambles, raspberries, dog-roses, and very tall and formidable nettles, whose stings excited much astonishment and some alarm in my Hindoostanee followers, while I know not whether the feelings which the scenery suggested to me were more painful or pleasing, so completely was I often carried back to some parts of Shropshire and Montgomeryshire. I am not ashamed to say that the tears were more than once in my eyes as I rode through thickets, the very air of which breathed England, and by streams and little mountain lakes, as cold, as black, as clear and noisy, as if they had issued from Snowdon, though the spell was dissolved from time to time by the sight of mountains such as

Europe has not to shew, and by the occasional glimpses of the still lower vallies, dark with the exuberant foliage of an Indian wood, and abounding in the usual eastern accompaniments of monkeys, gigantic snakes, and malignant vapours. These monkeys and snakes are found but a little way up the hills, while on the other hand the chamois is not seen below the highest peaks of the secondary range, and the yâk or Tibet cow pines away when removed from the neighbourhood of its native glaciers. But there are other animals to whom heat and cold seem matters of great indifference. The bear, the wolf, and the hyæna abound wherever there is food and covert, and the tyger is found of undiminished size and ferocity, from the lowest level of the Terrai, or marshy forest, at the foot of the hills, up to the edge of the ice, and I believe even beyond the passes into Chinese Tartary.

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Your Lordship will readily believe that I was not inattentive to the question which was much debated at the time of my leaving Europe, respecting the real height of these celebrated hills. I conversed on the subject with several of the officers concerned in the survey, who are men of undoubted talent and science. Their measurements, they all assured me, were taken with high-priced instruments, on repeated trials, and with a careful comparison of their respective operations, sharpened, indeed, by a natural jealousy of the extraordinary results to which those operations conducted them. For many of the highest peaks they had extremely favourable bases, and I can have no doubt, therefore, that their published tables may be depended on, and that Nundi Devi (which I feel some exultation in saying is completely within the limits of the British empire,) is really somewhere about 25,800 feet above the sea. Budrinâth, Kedernâth, and the three-fold peak above Gangoutree, are all considerably lower, though the Brahmins are very unwilling to allow that these last are not the highest of all. Some of the sepoys who form my escort were of this caste, and I shall

not easily forget the enthusiastic delight which they expressed on first obtaining a view of Meru. I am willing to hope that your Lordship may not be uninterested in these few and imperfect memoranda of the most remarkable and celebrated natural objects which India has to offer.

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With the most sincere good wishes for the health and prosperity of your Lordship and your house,

I remain, my Lord,

with much esteem and respect,

your Lordship's obliged and faithful humble servant,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO THE HONOURABLE MRS. DOUGLAS.

*Bombay, June* 7, 1825.

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I have, both for myself and mine, many mercies for which to be thankful, both for my own general good health and personal safety, in countries not the most friendly to the human constitution, and where the safeguard of laws is little known; in my recovery from one sharp fit of fever, of a kind which, though new in India, ran through almost all the Presidency of Bengal during the latter part of the last rains; and, still more, in the recovery and restoration of my wife and children, in repeated attacks of fever, as well as for their safety under the less frequent and more romantic peril of their immediate neighbourhood to a conspiracy, a battle, and what might have been a massacre. From Emily herself you will, probably, have heard the details of the extraordinary and calami-

tous events at Barrackpoor, of which she was an ear, and almost an eye-witness.

For myself, I have every reason to think that India agrees with me; and, though I do not pretend to be without occasional regrets, and fits of home-sickness, I continue to like the country and the people, and to find the climate not intolerable. The months of April and May are, indeed, very and *painfully* oppressive, and those of September and the early part of October little less so. But the rainy months, though annoying and wearisome, are, for the most part, tolerably cool, and the winter months, from November to the middle of March, afford as agreeable a climate as any country can boast of. The country, of course, varies much in scenery and productions on so wide a surface as I have now traversed; and though India, speaking of it generally, can hardly be spoken of as a picturesque region, and though its general fertility and wealth have also been greatly overrated, it contains many tracts of wild and original beauty, many very agreeable expanses of highly peopled and highly cultivated lands, many noble rivers, some unequalled mountains, and many works of ancient art, which may be fairly compared with, and perhaps even preferred to the most celebrated structures in Europe.

The different nations which I have seen in India (for it is a great mistake to suppose that all India is peopled by a single race, or that there is not as great disparity between the inhabitants of Guzerât, Bengal, the Dooab, and the Deckan, both in language, manners, and physiognomy, as between any four nations in Europe,) have, of course, in a greater or less degree, the vices which must be expected to attend on arbitrary government, a demoralising and absurd religion, and (in all the independent states, and in some of the districts which are partially subject to the British,) a laxity of law, and an almost universal prevalence of intestine feuds and habits of plunder. Their general character, however, has much which is extremely pleasing to me: they are brave, courteous, intelligent, and most eager after knowledge and improvement, with

a remarkable talent for the sciences of geometry, astronomy, &c., as well as for the arts of painting and sculpture. In all these points they have had great difficulties to struggle with, both from the want of models, instruments, and elementary instruction; the indisposition, or rather the horror, entertained, till lately, by many among their European masters for giving them instruction of any kind, and now, from the real difficulty which exists of translating works of science into languages which have no corresponding terms. More has been done, and more successfully, to obviate these evils in the Presidency of Bombay than in any part of India which I have yet visited, through the wise and liberal policy of Mr. Elphinstone; to whom this side of the Peninsula is also indebted for some very important and efficient improvements in the administration of justice, and who, both in amiable temper and manners, extensive and various information, acute good sense, energy, and application to business, is one of the most extraordinary men, as he is quite the most popular Governor, that I have fallen in with.

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Believe me,

Ever your affectionate friend and cousin,

Reginald Calcutta.

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TO THE REVEREND J. J. BLUNT.

*Bombay, June 10th,* 1825.

I am ashamed to recollect how long it is since I wrote to you, but you will excuse me when you are aware of the many circumstances which must prevent my ever becoming a good correspondent. I do not, indeed, think that in the regular and

ordinary functions of my diocese, there is more or even so much to be done as in any of the more extensive bishoprics of England; the small number of the Clergy must prevent this being the case. But on the other hand, every thing which is done must be done by myself, both in its spirit and its details, and partly owing to the manner in which we are scattered, and partly to the general habit of the country, all must be done in writing. Questions, which in England would not occupy more than five minutes' conversation, may here sometimes call for a letter of six or eight pages; and as nothing, or almost nothing which concerns the interests or duties of the Clergy, can be settled without a reference to Government, I have, in fact, at least two sets of letters to write and receive in every important matter which comes before me. As Visitor of Bishop's College, I receive almost every week six or seven sheets of close writing on the subject. I am called on to give an opinion on the architecture, expence, and details of every church which is built, or proposed to be built, in India; every application for salary of either clerk, sexton, schoolmaster, or bell-ringer must pass through my hands, and be recommended in a letter to Government. I am literally the conductor of all the missions in the three Presidencies; and, what is most serious of all, I am obliged to act in almost every thing from my own single judgement, and on my own single responsibility, without any more experienced person to consult, or any precedent to guide me. I have, besides, not only the Indian clergy and the Indian government to correspond with, but the religious Societies at home, whose agent I am, and to whom I must send occasional letters, the composition of each of which occupies me many days: while, in the scarcity of clergy which is, and must be felt here, I feel myself bound to preach, in some one or other of the churches or stations, no less frequently than when I was in England.

All this, when one is stationary at Calcutta, may be done, indeed, without difficulty; but my journeys threw me sadly into arrears; and you may easily believe, therefore, not only that I am

obliged to let slip many opportunities of writing to my friends at home, but that my leisure for study amounts to little or nothing, and that even the native languages, in which it has been my earnest desire to perfect myself, I am compelled to acquire very slowly, and by conversation more than by reading. With all this, however, in spite of the many disadvantages of climate and banishment, I am bound to confess that I like both my employments and my present country. The work is as much as I can do, and more than, I fear, I can do well; but a great deal of it is of a very interesting nature, and India itself I find so full of natural beauties and relics of ancient art, and there are so many curious topics of enquiry or speculation connected with the history and character of its inhabitants, their future fortunes, and the policy of Great Britain concerning them, that in every ride which I have taken, and in every wilderness in which my tent has been pitched, I have as yet found enough to keep my mind from sinking into the languor and apathy which have been regarded as natural to a tropical climate.

To my preservation thus far from such a result, a tendency to which I certainly see in many of my friends, it is probable that the frequent change of scene, and the necessity of daily bodily exercise and even fatigue, to which I have been for the last ten months habituated, have much contributed. Indeed Sir John Malcolm foretold that I should be highly pleased with my first visitation, though he warned me also that I should find it an inexpressibly wearisome duty to march over the same immense extent of ground, visiting the same places a second and a third time. Of this, however, I am content to run the risk, and I look forwards to my future journeys with any thing but a gloomy anticipation, since I hope that in them I shall be accompanied by my wife and children.

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During a great part of the year the climate is sufficiently disagreeable; it is by no means pleasant to be kept a close prisoner

to the house from soon after sunrise to a little before sunset, at the peril of a fever, or of a stroke of the sun, if one ventures to brave his terrors. It is a poor comfort to a person suffering, as I am at this moment, under what is called prickly heat, exactly resembling the application of red-hot needles to different parts of the body and limbs, to be told that this is a sign of health, and that while it continues he is not likely to have the cholera morbus. Nor is it comfortable at night, during the rainy season, to have the option between utter sleeplessness, if you choose to shut the window, and having one's bed, and every thing in the room, soaked through by the storm beating in if you think fit to leave it open. Nor can any comparison be formed between the degrees of fatigue occasioned by clerical duties in England and in India, when I come out of the pulpit, as was the case but yesterday, with my lawn sleeves as if they had been soaked in water. All these are easy to be borne so long as Providence gives health and strength, and many of them are only confined to particular seasons; and in all seasons considerable difference exists in different parts of India. The northern stations are, I think, most favoured, enjoying a longer continuance of cool weather, an air at all times drier and more elastic, and, except during the hot winds, by no means uncongenial to an English constitution. I have been greatly struck with the difference in muscle, complexion, and apparent strength between persons stationed in the upper provinces and those resident in Calcutta or Bombay. Yet so impartial is death in his visits, and so much may prudence and good management effect towards obviating natural inconveniences, that it is not found that on the whole there is greater mortality among the European inhabitants of these last named cities, than among those of Delhi, Meerut and Bareilly.

Of the people of this country I gave you, if I recollect right, a tolerably long account in my last letter.

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Their anxiety after improvement is exceedingly great, and the

steps which are now taking, particularly by the Government of Bombay, to translate useful books, especially mathematical and philosophical, into their languages, is likely, I hope, to produce effects even beyond the civil and secular improvements, which is their more immediate object. The labours of our missionaries in those parts of India which I have seen, have not as yet produced any great or striking shew of converts, but they have undoubtedly been as successful as could fairly be expected considering the short time which has elapsed since the attention of the English Church was called to this new harvest. In the south, the number of native Christians, even without reckoning the Syrian and Romish churches, is great, and has been stated to me on the best authority as between 40,000 and 50,000. And I have myself set on foot a new mission among the Puharrees, whose different ramifications extend from Rajmahal on the Ganges, through all Central India to the Deckan and the Arabian sea, which already wears a promising appearance, and from which I anticipate, perhaps, too sanguinely, very great advantage.

Many thanks for the interesting details which you have sent me of your own pursuits, and of our beloved little flock at Hodnet. I rejoice that you have become acquainted with my excellent and kind-hearted uncle and aunt, whom nobody can know without loving and valuing. Your accounts of the poor old people have carried me back very forcibly (I hardly know whether painfully or agreeably) to some of the happiest days of my life, though I have never had reason to complain of a want of happiness, and you will much oblige me by remembering me most kindly to some of my best known parishioners. May I also request of you to take charge of ten pounds, to distribute next Christmas among any of the inhabitants who need it most.

Believe me, dear Blunt,

Ever your sincere friend,

Reginald Calcutta.

Mrs. Heber desires me to send you her kind regards and good wishes.

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TO MRS. HEBER.

*Point de Galle, Sept.* 27, 1825.

Dearest Mother,

I write from a small port near the southern extremity of Ceylon, where we are waiting for a fair wind, in order to embark for Calcutta, and where I am happy to steal the first few moments of leisure which have occurred to me for some time, to tell you that we are all three well, that we have received good accounts of our dear little Harriet, and that we are thus far prosperously advanced in our voyage to rejoin her. We left Bombay, where I had been detained much longer than I expected, on the 15th of last month, and had a favourable voyage to this island, of which we have now seen a considerable portion. All which we have seen is extremely beautiful, with great variety of mountain, rock, and valley, covered from the hill-tops down to the sea with unchanging verdure, and, though so much nearer the Line, enjoying a cooler and more agreeable temperature than either Bombay or Calcutta. Here I have been more than ever reminded of the prints and descriptions in Cook's voyages. The whole coast of the island is marked by the same features, a high white surf dashing against coral rocks, which, by the way, though they sound very romantically, differ little in appearance from sand-stone; a thick grove of coco-trees, plaintains, and bread-fruit, thrusting their roots into the very shingles of the beach, and hanging their boughs over the spray; low thatched cottages scattered among the trees, and narrow canoes, each cut out of the trunk of a single tree, with an outrigger to keep it steady, and a sail exactly like that used in Otaheite. The people, too, who differ both in language and appear-

ance from those of Hindostan, are still more like the South Sea islanders, having neither turban nor cap, but their long black hair fastened in a knot behind, with a large tortoise-shell comb, and seldom any clothing but a cotton cloth round their waist, to which the higher ranks add an old-fashioned blue coat, with gold or silver lace, and a belt and hanger to match, a fashion which they apparently received from their Dutch conquerors, and which has a very whimsical appearance. The Candians, who inhabit the interior of the island, and whose country, as you know, was conquered by the English about ten years ago, wear a more shewy dress, and one more uniformly Oriental. They are now all tolerably reconciled to our Government, as well as the Cingalese, or inhabitants of the sea-coast, and their chiefs are rapidly acquiring a knowledge of our language and imitating our customs. We went up with the Governor, Sir Edward Barnes, who as well as Lady Barnes have shewn us much attention and kindness, to Candy, where I preached, administered the Sacrament, and confirmed twenty-six young people in the audience-hall of the late King of Candy, which now serves as a Church. Here, twelve years ago, this man, who was a dreadful tyrant, and lost his throne in consequence of a large party of his subjects applying to General Brownrigge for protection, used, as we were told, to sit in state to see those whom he had condemned trodden to death, and tortured by elephants trained for the purpose. Here he actually compelled by torments, the wife of one of his prime ministers, whom he suspected of plotting against him, to bruise with her own hands two of her children to death with a pestle and large mortar, before he put her to death also; and here at that time no Englishman or Christian could have appeared except as a slave, or at the risk of being murdered with every circumstance of cruelty. And now in this very place an English Governor and an English congregation, besides many converted natives of the island, were sitting peaceably to hear an English Bishop preach! Christianity has made perhaps a greater progress in this island than in all India besides. The Dutch, while

they governed the country, took great pains to spread it, and the black preachers whom they left behind, and who are still paid by the English Government, shew a very great reverence for our Common Prayer, which is translated into their language, and a strong desire to be admitted Members of the Church of England. One excellent man, named Christian David, I ordained last year in Calcutta, and there are several more in training. There are also some very meritorious missionaries in the island. One of them is the son of our neighbour, Mr. Mayor, of Shawbury, who, together with another Shropshire man, Mr. Ward, has got together a very respectable congregation of natives, as well as a large school, and built a pretty church, which I consecrated last Sunday, in one of the wildest and most beautiful situations I ever saw. The effects of these exertions have been very happy, both among the Roman Catholic descendants of the Portuguese, and the heathen. I have confirmed, since I came into the island, 360 persons, of whom only sixty were English, and in the great Church at Colombo, I pronounced the blessing in four different languages, English, Portuguese, Cingalese, and Tamul.

Those who are still heathen, are professedly worshippers of Buddh [a], but by far the greater part reverence nothing except the Devil, to whom they offer sacrifices by night, that he may do them no harm. Many of the nominal Christians are infected with the same superstition, and are therefore not acknowledged by our Missionaries, otherwise instead of 300 to be confirmed, I might have had several thousand candidates. Many thanks for the kind trouble you took to get subscriptions for the female schools at Calcutta. I hope we shall be able to raise nearly money enough for them in India. On the whole I rejoice to believe that, in very many parts of this great country, " the fields are white already to

[a] The Moodelier of Candy, G. P. G. De Sarum, gave the Bishop a Sermon in the Pali language and Cingalese character, said to have been written by Buddh himself, being one of 17575 he preached in his way between Rajmahanoora and Nalundranoora, concerning the state of absorption into the Deity. Ed.

harvest," and it is a circumstance of great comfort to me, that in all the good which is done, the Church of England seems to take the lead, that our Liturgy has been translated into the five languages most used in these parts of the world, and that all Christian sects in the East seem more and more disposed to hold it in reverence. Still little, very little is done in comparison with all which is to do.

Ever your affectionate son,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO THE REV. JOHN MAYOR, VICAR OF SHAWBURY, IN SHROPSHIRE.

*Galle, September* 28, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,

I seize a few moments of the first leisure which I have had for a long time, while waiting a change of wind to enable our ship to leave this harbour for Calcutta, to give you some account of those most dear to you in this island. I arrived at this port five weeks ago, in visiting the different parts of my great diocese; and had the pleasure to be greeted, among those who first came off to our vessel, by your son Robert, looking stout and well, and very little altered from what he was when I last saw him in England. He remained on board the greater part of the day; but the fatigue which we had all to undergo, before we got on shore, the sea being stormy, and our vessel in a bad situation, unfortunately brought on an attack of fever, which prevented his accompanying us, as was his first intention, to Colombo. His disorder since has completely left him.

Mrs. Heber and I had the pleasure, on our return from the north, of passing the best part of three days with him and Mrs. Mayor, in their romantic abode at Baddagame; where we also found his

colleague, Mr. Ward, with his wife and family, in perfect health and contented cheerfulness. I consecrated their Church, which is really an extraordinary building, considering the place in which, and the circumstances under which it has been erected; and I had also the happiness of administering Confirmation and the Lord's Supper to a small but promising band of their converts and usual hearers; and I can truly say, both for my wife and myself, that we have never paid a visit which has interested and impressed us more agreeably, from the good sense, good taste, and right feeling, the concord, zeal, and orderly and industrious piety which appeared to pervade both families and every part of their establishment. Both of them are, in fact, all which you or I could wish them—active, zealous, well-informed, and orderly Clergymen—devoted to the instruction and help of their Heathen neighbours—both enjoying a favourable report, I think I may say without exception, from the Governor, public functionaries, and, in general, from all the English in the Colony whom I have heard speak of them.

The cause of Christianity is, I hope, going on well here. There is, among the Cingalese and Tamul population, a very large proportion of nominal Christians; who, although unhappily they are only nominal, because their fathers were so before them, or because the profession is creditable, and though too many of them still pay their superstitious homage to Buddha and to the Evil Principle, have, notwithstanding, fewer external difficulties to contend with, in embracing the true faith, than fall to the share of the poor Hindoos. Among these, and in part among the professed Pagans, I am rejoiced to find that conversions are going on, if not very rapidly, yet steadily; and that the rising generation afford excellent hopes of repaying richly, and even in our own time, the labours of the good men who have given up parents, and friends, and country in their service. I have had myself the pleasure of confirming in this place, Candy, and Colombo, three hundred natives of the island—Portuguese, (that is, descendants of Portuguese), Cingalese, and Malabarians: besides which, had I been able to go to Jaffna,

for which the season has too far advanced, I am assured that I should have had at least one hundred candidates more. In the great church at Colombo, I had to pronounce the blessing in four different languages. Surely this should encourage our best hopes and best exertions, and should fill us with gratitude to God, who has already made " the fields white unto the harvest."

It gave me much pleasure to hear from your son of your prolonged good health, and that of your family. The signal for sailing is given, and I have only time to add my best wishes to them, and to beg you to tell our common friends in Shropshire, that I often, very often, think of them. I and mine, thank God, are perfectly well.

Dear Sir, ever truly yours,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO RICHARD HEBER, ESQ.

*Calcutta, December* 15, 1825.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Your kind letter, which I received in the last month, soon after my return from Ceylon, gave me very sincere pleasure.

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I have, indeed, been a very bad correspondent, and I fear that both my private friends and the different public bodies with which I am connected, have all alike some cause to complain of me. With regard to these last, however, and more particularly the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, I really did not suppose that they desired to hear from me, unless I had something worth communicating, connected with them or their committees, or their missions in England; and as I have not yet visited Madras, where only they have any establishments particularly worth speaking of,

I had not, till since my return to Calcutta, any adequate motive for troubling them, or taking up a portion of my own time, which I could very ill spare. If, however, they suppose that because I have not written them long letters, I have neglected their interest here, or that I have paid more attention to any other religious society, except that for the Propagation of the Gospel, to whom I had a great deal to say, they are most exceedingly mistaken. Their agents and missionaries here, I am convinced, will bear me witness, that I have worked as hard in their cause, and been as importunate in soliciting subscriptions for them, as any body could be; and in consequence of the ill state of their funds, my own subscriptions and donations (besides the share they have had of the sum entrusted to me by the Parent Society) more than double those which I, at first, thought it necessary to bestow. As to writing letters, it should be borne in mind, that in India all business is transacted by writing.

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But I have no wish to plague you any further with my vindication. You, I am sure, will acquit me of intentional disrespect towards any body, particularly a society which has done so much good to the best of all causes.

The affairs of the sister Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, have occupied a good deal of my time and thoughts. Bishop's College, besides costing two or three times as much in its building as it was first calculated it would, has turned out so expensive in the monthly bills and necessary keep of its inmates, that all the resources I found were quite inadequate to finish the chapel, build the printing-house, or do more than keep the wolf from the door. Nor would they have sufficed even for this last object, had it not been for the munificent supplies which for these three years we have received from the Church Missionary Society, and for the large subscriptions and benefactions which we have, within the last eight months, obtained from different parts of India. For

the present, the institution is doing very well, and I have great reason to be pleased with the manner in which it is conducted by Mr. Mill, the principal, who is one of the best and ablest, as he is decidedly the most learned man in India.

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Archdeacon Barnes is every way a great loss; sensible, unaffected, and friendly, exceedingly well acquainted with the business and interests of the Church in his Archdeaconry, and popular with all ranks of people there. Should any thing happen to me, there is nobody whom I should so gladly look to as my successor; but if he has to wait for the expiration of my term, he will probably think twice, even if the situation were offered him, before, at fifty years old, he again goes out to India. In spite, however, of these labours and drawbacks, and in spite of the far heavier and more painful circumstance of separation from home, and my oldest and dearest friends, I should be extremely ungrateful if I did not speak well of India, and acknowledge myself happy in my present situation.

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The circumstance which I have felt most painfully, was my long separation from my wife and children; a measure, however, which my subsequent experience of some of the countries which I had to pass through, sufficiently shewed to have been no unnecessary sacrifice. In Madras, whither I am going the latter end of next month, I yet hope that they may accompany me, but am not certain, as it must depend on information which I am collecting. Mrs. Middleton made the journey, and though I am compelled to go at a later period of the season, and in hotter weather, I have no doubt that Emily might go with perfect safety. But for the children I am not without apprehensions. At all events, my separation from them will, I trust, be far shorter than the last; nor, though I hear much of the beauty of the south of Malabar, and look forward

with great interest to seeing the Syrian Christians, can I think that Emily will lose so much of glorious prospect and romantic manners, as she did by not accompanying me up the crags of Almorah, and among the wild and warlike tribes of Malwah. Bombay and Ceylon we saw together, and she, as well as I, was greatly delighted with both, particularly the natural beauties of the latter. The former was rendered particularly interesting to us from the renewal of my old acquaintance with Archdeacon Barnes, and from the terms of intimacy on which we lived with Mr. Elphinstone, the most remarkable man in India for talents, acquirements, undeviating good nature and flow of conversation. We were his guests for almost three months, and I found something fresh to admire or like in him every day. Every body in India does him justice, as an excellent man of business, a " grand homme d'etat et de guerre," a conqueror and a legislator.

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Ceylon is a noble island in all natural riches, but I have seldom seen a country for which man has done so little. The present governor, Sir Edward Barnes, is an able and active man, whose measures seem to have been well directed for the interest of the people, and he has certainly done much for Ceylon.

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Emily and I have gained much in our Calcutta society by the appointments of Sir Charles Grey and Lord Combermere. Grey is looking extremely well, and very little altered from what he was in England; he is very popular here; so is also Lord Combermere, from his constant accessibility, and close attention to business, as well as by his good natured and cordial manners. He is now, I apprehend, engaged in the siege of Bhurtpoor, unless the usurper of that little state has submitted without coming to blows. If the war really goes on, and the city falls, Lord Combermere will add greatly to his own reputation and that of the English name, inasmuch as Bhurtpoor is the only fortress, and the Jâts the only

people in India, who boast that they have never been subdued either by the Mogul emperors or the English, having, as you are aware, beaten off Lord Lake with great loss, in many successive campaigns. I did not see the city, except at a distance, but passed through the country, and was very hospitably and civilly treated. I thought them a very fine military race, and their territory one of the best governed in the north.

The army under Lord Combermere is considerable, amounting to near 25,000 men, with a fine train of artillery; there are only, however, about 3000 of these Europeans. . . . . . Should he fail, it is unhappily but too true, that all northern and western India, every man who owns a sword, and can buy or steal a horse, from the Sutlege to the Nerbudda, will be up against us, less from disliking us than in the hope of booty. And still more unfortunately, it is not easy to say where another army can be found to meet them, now that Bombay is fully occupied on the side of Sindia, and all the strength of British India in Ava. From Ava and Arracan the news continues to be bad; it is but too certain that our army is melting away with sickness, to which natives and Europeans appear equally liable; and there are various rumours as usual in Calcutta yet more gloomy.

With Emily's best love and good wishes, and my own daily prayers for your happiness, and if it pleases God, our prosperous meeting again, believe me, dear Heber,

Ever your affectionate brother,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

The steam-boat, long promised, is at length arrived, after nearly a four months' passage. People say this is very well for a beginning, but unless she quickens her pace, most of us will, I think, prefer the old conveyances. We often wish it were possible for you to pay us a visit here. If you were not fully engaged, India is really well worth seeing.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD GRENVILLE.

*Calcutta, Dec.* 24, 1825.

My Lord,

I have much pleasure in being enabled to forward to your Lordship, by the H. C. S. Minerva, what will I hope turn out a good collection of the finest Alpine plants in India, together with a few others, which, though not strictly coming under this description, my amiable and able friend Dr. Wallich begs leave to add to the list, on account of their beauty and rarity. I am bound at the same time to express my gratitude to your Lordship for the very beautiful poems which I found in Calcutta, on my return from my visitation. The privilege of reading and possessing compositions so classical would be valuable any where, but no where I think so much as in India, where, though there is really a great deal of talent and information of different kinds, there are comparatively few who have acquired or retained any taste for Greek and Roman literature.

Of public news, India at this moment affords but little, though much of the most serious importance may be expected every hour. Lord Combermere is besieging Bhurtpoor, with good hopes of succeeding, and of thus wiping off the sort of stain which the successful resistance of the Jâts on a former occasion is considered as having left on the British arms.

I remain, with much respect and regard,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful and obliged servant,

Reginald Calcutta.

## TO THE REVEREND DEOCAR SCHMIDT.

[In answer to his Letter on the re-ordination of Lutheran Ministers.]

*Calcutta, December 23d,* 1825.

Reverend and dear Sir,

The great press of business with which I have had to contend ever since my arrival in Calcutta, has prevented my replying to your letter of the 1st November, till after the event occurred from which you wished to dissuade me. I can assure you, however, that though your arguments have remained unanswered, they have been carefully weighed by me, and that, though I have concluded by acting differently, I think highly of the talent which suggested them.

I have neither time nor inclination to enter into a controversy connected with some of the most important and difficult questions in the whole field of polemic divinity. I only wish to convince you that I have not been inattentive to your letter, and to set you right on some points on which you appear to have misunderstood me in our last conversation. You suppose that I generally admit ordination by Presbyters without a Bishop to be valid. I do not admit this. All I said is that, when a Christian nation has, by unfortunate circumstances, lost its apostolical succession of Bishops, the continuance of Ministers being a thing absolutely needful and essential, those good men are not to be censured who perpetuate it by the best means in their power. And were I to return to Germany, I would again, as before, humbly and thankfully avail myself of the preaching and sacramental ordinances of the Lutheran evangelical church, not doubting that they are a true church of Christ, and that the Spirit of God is with them as, I trust, he is with us also.

But, though an imperfect ordination may, doubtless, be accepted by our Lord and common Master, and though a church,

under circumstances such as I have described, may remain a true church still, it does not follow that, where this supposed deficiency may be supplied, it may not be adviseable for a Minister of the Gospel either to seek for fresh orders himself, or to counsel others to do so. And this may be more especially adviseable where his, or their, ministerial utility is likely to be much augmented by a closer union with a church under (what I conceive to be) the ancient discipline. We (that is, the members of our church) have no right or inclination to judge other national churches. But our own flocks have a sacred right to be well-satisfied as to the Divine commission of those whom other spiritual rulers set over them. Even where the smallest doubt exists of the perfection of the orders received, and their conformity with apostolical practice, it may be a part of Christian prudence to choose the safer side. And even where this doubt is not felt by ourselves, yet, if its existence in others impedes our usefulness, we have the highest possible warrant, in the case of St. Paul and Timothy, for condescending, even in a more material point, to the failings and prejudices of our brethren. Accordingly, if a preacher ordained in the method practised in Germany foresees a marked advantage to Christ's cause in a closer alliance with his episcopalian brethren, I see not that he dishonours his previous commission by seeking our prayers and blessing in the form which *we* think most conformable to God's will. And the humility is, surely, any thing but blameable which stoops for a time to even an inferior degree and inferior duties than those which he has already exercised.

For I see no weight in the argument that holy orders cannot be repeated without profanation. In the first place, it is a matter of *doubt* whether the first orders were valid or no, and, in the very fact of fresh orders being given without a formal renunciation of the former, it is plain that the fresh orders are tacitly "sub conditione." But, secondly, there is nothing, as I conceive, in the nature of ordination which makes it profane to repeat it on just grounds, or reasonable scruple on the part of the church or its

rulers. Ordination stands on a different ground from baptism. It is not a new creation, but a solemn devotion of a man to a particular office, accompanied by prayer, and, as we believe, an accession of the Holy Spirit. But though a man can be only once *regenerate,* he may be often *renewed* and *quickened* by the Holy Ghost, and there is no reason, *a priori,* why he should not receive an *outward ordination* (as he certainly may receive an *inward call*) to a new sphere of action in the church, as well as to a new office in it. I do not say that this has ever been the practice of the church, though I still think that something very analogous to it may be found in Acts xiii. But I say this to shew the difference between the two cases of re-baptizing and re-ordaining, and that the same risk of profanation does not attach to the last as, I admit, does in every doubtful case to the former.

Accordingly, I need not remind you that the great body of ancient Christians allowed the validity of baptism (the *matter* and *words* being correct) whether conferred by heretics, schismatics, or laymen. But though the ancient church never re-baptized, they most certainly re-ordained in the case of the Meletian and Novatian Clergy, as appears from Theodoret, Eccles. Hist. l. i. ix. and Conc. Nicen, can. 8.

Still, I have no right or desire to judge devout and learned divines of another national church. If they come to sojourn among us satisfied with the commission which they have received, or if they desire our help in their efforts to convert the heathen, I gladly meet them as Christians and fellow-labourers. I rejoice sincerely that Christ is made known so widely through their means. I gladly admit them, (as I should desire myself to be admitted in Germany or Holland,) to the communion of our church, and to all that interchange of good will and good offices (as in the case of the Missionary societies of our church,) which is essential to our carrying on the Gospel work in concert. But I am not inconsistent with these feelings if I think that the difference between us, though it should not interrupt our communion, is in itself a mis-

fortune to be remedied. Nor do I feel the less love and reverence for their character and talents, when I earnestly wish them to become in all points like ourselves, except those sins of infirmity of which I am mournfully conscious.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your sincere friend and servant in Christ,

Reginald Calcutta.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Sandheads, February 5th,* 1826.

I get this letter ready to send by the pilot, who expects to be able to leave us in the course of the morning. We have a beautiful day and a favourable breeze. The strenuous measures which Government took to secure my horse a passage have proved abortive. They were very kindly meant, and I have reason to believe that I have to thank for them the zeal of Mr. Lushington, who appears to have taken a good deal of trouble on the subject. I am now quite well. I cannot help thinking that both my illness and yours proceeded, in part, from the agitation of this second sad parting. I should have been unworthy of you could I have left you without a severe pang. We are both of us, however, in God's hands; and as it is not to please ourselves that we are now separated, I have hope in Him that He will bring us together again in happiness, and our separation will be much shorter than the last!

God bless you,

Reginald Calcutta.

I enclose a letter to the Bishop of Oxford, concerning the books intended for All Souls library, which I will thank you to send by the Grenville, as well as the package.

Our cuddy party is, in a good degree, made up of sick officers returning to Europe, miserable spectacles, alas! from Prome and Arracan. I, at first, expected a dull and uninstructive party, but, as usual, I found persons from whom I could learn a great deal. One officer was one of the first explorers of the Macquarrie river in New South Wales, is excessively fond of natural history, and has corresponded with Sir Joseph Banks and Humboldt; another of our passengers, a young civilian, has visited many parts of Kemaoon which I have not seen, and flatters himself that he has had a sight of a real *unicorn!*

One of the poor invalids below has died, and there are some others very weak and ill, but who will, I trust, recover strength as we get out to sea. Mr. Robinson and I take it by turns to read prayers to them, and find both them and the ship's company very attentive. I have also found the cuddy party not only willing but anxious that I should read evening prayers as on board the Grenville and Discovery.

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TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*On board the Bassorah Merchant, Bay of Bengal, February* 15, 1826.

My Lord,

It seems my fate to be able to address your Grace from on board ship only. I am now again engaged in my visitation, and hope, by God's blessing, during the next five or six months, to complete the circuit of the southern stations of the presidency of Madras, and the Syro-Malabaric Churches in Travancore, besides, if the state of the Monsoon allows, paying a short visit to Ceylon. I trust again to have the honour of writing to your Grace before the conclusion of my journey, but the immediate cause of my present letter is to request your directions and assistance in enabling the

Indian clergy to marry, under certain circumstances, without the canonical preliminaries of banns or licence. The custom was for the civil servants of the Company to obtain the permission of the governor, and for the soldiers to produce a similar written licence from their commanding officers, while the few who did not fall under one or other of these descriptions were only required, I believe, to give a written assurance to the clergyman that they knew of no impediment to their legal union.

For several years back, however, in all marriages of civilians of rank, or of commissioned officers, and, generally, wherever there was wealth on either side, the supreme courts of judicature of Calcutta and Madras, and the Governor of Bombay, have taken on themselves to issue marriage licences. Their power to do this is very generally questioned, and seems to rest on a very unsound foundation, while the fees demanded by their officials are complained of as a heavy grievance. Still the measure, though at first opposed by the Clergy, has been at length generally acquiesced in; and Bishop Middleton, as I understood, made an ineffectual appeal to the Board of Controul, to get the prerogative transferred from the Court of Judicature to the Bishop and his Surrogates.

He issued, however, a letter to his Clergy, shortly after his arrival, enjoining a more careful adherence than they had formerly shewn to the regular hours of solemnizing marriages, and forbidding them strictly to perform the ceremony without either banns, or a licence from the usual authorities. And, in consequence of this order, the Reverend Mr. Goode, chaplain at Poonah, having refused to marry a soldier who was under marching orders, and who could not remain in cantonments a sufficient time for the publication of banns, had a long and angry correspondence with Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, which was referred to me a short time before I left Calcutta to embark on my present voyage.

In comparing the Major-General's arguments with the facts which he states, and those which have come to my knowledge from other quarters, it certainly does appear that the grievance

complained of is neither imaginary nor trifling. A soldier may be, and often is, ordered to march, at a very few days notice, to distances where a woman, not being his wife, cannot follow or accompany him, while months, and even years, may elapse without his being stationary for three weeks together in a place where there is a resident chaplain.

There are also many stations at which detachments of soldiers are fixed, which a chaplain only visits alternate months, or sometimes four Sundays in the year. Indeed it has been only within the last two years, by the great exertion of Archdeacon Barnes in Bombay, and by my own influence with the Supreme Government, that even this kind of occasional and itinerant service has been provided for. But, at such places as these, it is plain that banns are impossible or nugatory, while, setting aside the fact that the Indian price of a licence is quite beyond the means of a soldier, it does not appear that persons in his situation of life, or such females as he is likely to marry, are of that "state or quality," to which by canon ci. the granting of a marriage licence is restricted.

It must also be borne in mind, that these restrictions press with more severity on soldiers and the usual dependants on a camp, than on any other persons of the same rank in life. Their courtships are, in this country, proverbially short; and it is necessary that they should be so, since the number of Christian females from whom they can choose is very small, while the miseries and dangers to which an unprotected woman is liable in India, are such as to make it highly desirable that widows and female orphans should remain as short a time unmarried as possible. Nor is it possible to become acquainted with the temptations, and almost inevitable ruin of body and soul to which an European soldier, without a wife, is exposed in India, without feeling the propriety of throwing as few obstacles as possible in the way of lawful marriage.

It is a galling circumstance, too, that these restrictions only apply to members of the Church of England, and those places which have the residence or occasional visits of a clergyman.

The parties have only to go over to the Church of Rome, and the priest will unite them without trouble, and at the shortest notice. Where there is no Chaplain within a certain distance, the commanding officer does the same. And in the Residencies, where there are ministers of the Scottish Church, I have myself known a person, who though of that nation, had for several years attended our worship without scruple, who bethought himself of his paternal creed out of pure good husbandry, and because his approaching marriage could be celebrated with less expense and delay than it could be according to the rules of the Church of England. Nor are the Clergy of the two rival communions at all backward to contrast their liberty in these particulars, with the expensive and burdensome restrictions to which the members of our Church are subjected.

The consequence is, as I have stated to your Grace, that, so far as soldiers are concerned, the canons and Bishop Middleton's injunctions have, in most parts of India, remained a dead letter. The Chaplains have, nearly without exception, gone on in their former course of marrying soldiers and camp-followers on the simple certificate of the officers commanding the regiments to which they belong. They plead in excuse for this conduct, that a similar liberty is used by all his Majesty's military Chaplains, when on foreign service; that the marriage-act does not extend to India, and the canons are inapplicable, while an attempt to enforce them would embroil them with the military officers, on whose good-will depends all their comfort, and much of their usefulness, at the same time, that it would act as a direct encouragement to vice, and produce much inconvenience and misery to many helpless individuals.

Your Grace will have already perceived that I regard their case as a strong one, and I trust that I shall not be thought to have gone too far in my compliance to the necessities of the country in the following rules, which I have forwarded through the Archdeacon for the provisional guidance of the Clergy, till your

Grace's further directions could be obtained, for which I at the same time stated my purpose of applying.

The first rule permits Chaplains to "celebrate the marriages of military persons, soldiers, female followers of the camp, suttlers, and others subject to martial law, under the rank of commissioned officers, without banns or licence, and by virtue of a written permission signed by the commanding officer of the station, garrison, or detachment, to which such soldier or military person belongs." The second provides, that "such permission must be presented to the officiating Clergyman at least two days before the celebration of the marriage, unless, for some urgent cause, he may see fit to be satisfied with a shorter notice." The third directs the Clergyman, "if any doubts arise as to the propriety of the connexion, to make enquiry without delay, both personally from the parties, and otherwise; and should it appear to him that any lawful impediment exists, to suspend the ceremony till farther satisfaction, reporting the same immediately to the Commanding Officer, and, if need be, to the Archdeacon and the Bishop."

Your Grace will observe that I have directed the Clergy to receive the certificate of permission not (as now) from the Commanding Officers of regiments, but from the Commandant of the station, garrison, or detachment. My reason is, that this last is the usual person whom the Chaplain has to consult, and from whom he receives communications connected with the military part of his flock, and that I have found it desirable that, so far as can be done, all other military officers should be prevented from interfering on any ground with the Chaplain in the performance of his duties. And it is also probable that in any difficulty which may arise as to the marriage of a soldier, the Commandant of the station will be more free from undue bias, and more open to the Chaplain's objections. I have also thought it necessary to assign some period for the previous notice, in order to give the Chaplain time for seeing the parties, and making any enquiries which may be necessary.

With the same view of publicity I have suggested to his Ex-

cellency the Commander-in-Chief the propriety of having the names of all soldiers or military persons intending to marry, inserted in the orderly-book of their regiment or detachment, and read at the head of companies, at least four days before the celebration of the ceremony. That the permission to marry shall proceed from the officer commanding the regiment or detachment in the first instance, and having received the signature of the officer commanding the station, &c. be forwarded by him to the Chaplain, and that both these officers be especially desired to make due enquiries as to the fitness of the union, and, more particularly, their age, condition, &c.

The measure which I have yet ventured on relates to military persons only beneath the rank of officers, inasmuch as the inconveniences which they suffered were the greatest, and they were the only description of persons from whom I had a direct complaint; while I was sensible that any thing which should extend further would be likely to produce a jealousy in the supreme courts, and might possibly (from its consequences with property, inheritance, &c.) lead to consequences which I was myself unable to foresee.

Your Grace will not fail, however, to observe, that there are many subaltern officers to whom the payment of so high licence fees may be very inconvenient, while the publication of their banns is liable to the same difficulties as those of the soldier. And there are very many persons in India engaged in civil or commercial pursuits, in whose case the publication of banns is quite nugatory, while their means and rank in life are by no means such as to make a licence procurable or even proper.

There are many thousand families of what are called the "half caste," or "country-born," scattered up and down India, engaged in the cultivation of indigo, or employed in the different studs, farms, silk manufactories, &c. which the Government have established in their territories. A Christian of this description may be resident (where there are many such) in an humble sphere of life

at Etawah, or Mynpooree, in the Dooab. If he desires to marry a female of his own degree, he must now, if the canons be complied with, go to keep a residence at Agra, where the nearest Chaplain resides, a distance of seventy miles from his home and property, in order that his banns may be published. Now, not to mention that such an absence from home would be ruinous, perhaps, in more ways than one, to both the parties, it is plain that the publication of banns so far from his own neighbourhood, and in a place where his face, and perhaps his name, is unknown, could answer no good purpose. On the other hand, if he prefers a licence, he must get two householders in Calcutta, a city which he has never seen, and from which he is distant eight hundred miles, to make oath, and enter into a bond that he and his intended wife are of full age, and that there is no impediment to their union, and he is to pay high fees for an instrument, the issuers of which can know nothing of him or his connexions.

Accordingly, a man thus situated either goes to the nearest station for merely the day of marriage, having the banns published in his absence and pro forma, or watches the opportunity of some Chaplain passing through his neighbourhood, in which case he endeavours, generally with success, to persuade him to marry him without either banns or licence, though never (as I am assured) without enquiry; or he has recourse to some of the neighbouring Priests, who ask no questions at all, or to the lay Magistrates, among whom there are many who feel a great reluctance, and some who display a very unfortunate facility in undertaking, not only this but other ecclesiastical functions.

I once was inclined to suggest as a remedy for these mischiefs the appointment of a sufficient number of Surrogates. To this, however, there are in the present state of India many objections. If these Surrogates were appointed by the Bishop, the legality of their licences would be hotly contested by the Supreme Court, a contest in which Bishop Middleton was by no means encouraged to embark, and which would very possibly lead to a painful and

mischievous disunion between the Bishop and his Majesty's judges. If the Supreme Court had the appointment, I really do not know who they could get to serve the office. The magistrates, who are civil servants of the Company, I feel almost persuaded would not, inasmuch as great jealousy exists between the King's courts and the Adawlut, and the Indian civilians dislike nothing so much as being drawn, by any means, into contact with English law and English attorneys. I myself should not wish the Clergy to receive commissions from an authority which I am inclined to think an usurpation, and I should be still more unwilling to transfer to them any part of the odium which belongs to the stamp duty, and fees of marriage licences. At the same time your Grace will observe, that the creation of Surrogates would not meet the evil, inasmuch as a large portion of those persons who cannot have recourse to banns, are equally precluded by poverty, from obtaining a licence.

Nor if the whole system of Surrogates were carried into its fullest extent would any thing be really gained in point of security against improper marriages. No end would be gained by making some of the Clergy Surrogates, since, scattered as they are over a vast extent of country, the applicant for a licence would neither know where to go, nor be materially relieved by such a provision. If *all* were invested with this character, it would be merely to recognise in each of them the exercise of a discretion which each now exercises, and which may be just as well exercised without the imposition of an expensive tax and a fee; or, if this character were given to the magistrates, it would only be to remove this discretion from the Clergy to a description of persons who, respectable as they many of them are, are by no means so well qualified to exercise it.

Accordingly, I would respectfully submit to your Grace, that in all cases where the parties desiring to be married are natives of India, or British subjects holding no rank in the service either of his Majesty or the honourable East India Company, and where their place of residence is thirty miles and upwards from any of

the three Presidencies, the Chaplain or officiating Clergyman may dispense with banns or licence on receiving a written declaration, signed by the parties themselves, and by two neighbouring Christian householders, that they are of age, and that there is no legal impediment to their union, or, if either is under age, then a similar declaration from their parents or guardians. These documents to be countersigned by the magistrate or magistrates of the district or districts to which they respectively belong, with the declaration that he has no reason to doubt the truth of the accompanying statement. The document to be transmitted to the Clergyman at least twenty days before the celebration of the marriage, and the Clergyman to be enjoined to use the same precautions in case of suspicion as before prescribed in military marriages.

Such an arrangement, as it would leave to the Supreme Court their present hold over all the more wealthy and dignified part of the population of these countries, would, I conceive, meet with no opposition from them. It would relieve the Clergy from the heavy alternative under which they now labour, of either refusing marriage where no Christian objection exists, or incurring a suspension of three years, (if indeed the canons are of force in India) and it would do much towards extending and confirming the popularity, the influence, and, consequently, the usefulness of the English Church in these vast countries. On these grounds, and speaking the general sentiments of the Indian Clergy, I beg leave to express their earnest hope, as well as my own, that your Grace will afford us such relief as you may think proper, together with directions for our future guidance. I will only add my hope that the canons in question, being simply ecclesiastical, and never having received the sanction of parliament, it will not be beyond your Grace's power to authorize our omitting observances which, useful and proper as they may be at home, are by no means calculated for the state of society in these colonies.

The other provisions of canonical hours, of marrying in church, when there is one within a reasonable distance, &c. may remain as

they are now fixed. They used formerly to be much neglected in India, but they are now universally recognised, and have many obvious advantages, without any material inconvenience.

Since the despatch of my last letter to your Grace till my embarkation twelve days ago, I have been resident in Calcutta, where I had the satisfaction of setting on foot a district committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, corresponding to those in Bombay and Ceylon, and of collecting for the immediate use of Bishop's college, and eventually for the support of its schools and missions, a very seasonable supply of about 15,000 s. rupees, which will, I hope, receive considerable additions from the other stations of the Presidency when their respective Chaplains shall have received and acted on the letters which I sent them. The new society received a cordial support from the Commander-in-chief, the Chief Justice and Judges, the members of council, and most of the chief functionaries of government both civil and military. Lord Amherst alone, I regret to say, though he wished us every success, felt himself precluded by the line of policy which he had undertaken to adopt before his arrival here, from giving us the same countenance which Mr. Elphinstone and Sir E. Barnes have done. It yet remains to be seen what success will attend us at Madras.

In consequence of this supply, together with that previously received from Bombay, and the further helps hoped for from England, the college council, now complete by the arrival of the two professors, have been encouraged to go on with the internal fitting up of the chapel, and the erection of the printing-house. They are still, however, going on from hand to mouth, and obliged to anticipate their resources with a hardiness which necessity only justifies. The utility and success of the institution is becoming every day more apparent. I wish that the statutes had held out greater encouragement to private benefactors and non-foundation students, or that some greater latitude were allowed in these respects to the college council and the visitor. However there is

a power reserved of altering and adding to them by the society at home, and the necessary expansion will, I have no doubt, eventually take place. At present, I think, and the Principal is now of the same opinion, that their *publication* in India (which was apparently contemplated) would rather do harm than good. Of the new Professors I have as yet seen little. For Principal Mill my respect and esteem increase the more I know of him.

I have filled up the Archdeaconry of Bombay, vacant by the resignation of my valued friend Dr. G. Barnes, with the Rev. Mr. Hawtayne, formerly domestic Chaplain to Bishop Middleton.

I was not so fortunate as to find St. Peter's Church in Fort William, or the Bengalee Chapel, of which I wrote in my last letter to your Grace, in a sufficiently advanced state to admit of consecration. I had the satisfaction, however, of preaching in a Church which, though not newly built, was newly appropriated to the forms of our episcopal ritual in the late Dutch Colony of Chinsurah, thirty miles from Calcutta, which I had induced Government to place at my disposal, and to which I had assigned as Pastor the Rev. Mr. Morton, one of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The building is not large, but elegant, and I found a numerous and attentive congregation, of which the Dutch portion had been long accustomed to the English language, and acquiesced with much seeming good will in the introduction of our Liturgy and the appearance of a pair of lawn sleeves. The facility with which their objections were overcome, I impute partly to the sound sense and good temper of Principal Mill, whom I had charged (while on my visitation) with the management of the affair; partly to the great preponderance of English who, even before the colony was transferred to us, had already settled there; and in a great degree also to the amiable and Christian spirit displayed by the Rev. M. La Croix, a Dutch missionary who had previously occupied the Church, (there being no regular Chaplain) who professed himself not sorry to relinquish a situation in which his imperfect knowledge of English was a disadvantage to him for

the undivided application of his time and talents to the natives, and has since been himself a regular attendant on Mr. Morton's ministry. To our Church the point was one of much importance. As a missionary station Chinsurah is very valuable. The congregation, already numerous, is likely to increase greatly, and to receive a greater and greater proportion of our countrymen, and had the moment of the transfer been let slip, there were many of the sectaries who would have eagerly offered their services to Government, and were likely enough to have fixed themselves there permanently. I mention this to your Grace, because one of my Clergy, whom it is not necessary to name, thought fit to reflect severely on my conduct in removing Mr. Morton from the superintendance of the schools supported in the neighbourhood of Calcutta by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

During my residence in Calcutta I held an ordination of Deacons, and another of Deacons and Priests, both attended with circumstances with which your Grace should be informed, and which I trust will not be uninteresting to you. The subjects of both were missionaries in the employ of the Church Missionary Society. Three of them (Mr. Reichardt, a native of Germany, and a young man of very respectable attainments both in the classics, divinity, and Hebrew, Mr. Bowley, the son of an European, but born in this country, in the language of which he is a proficient, and Abdul Musseeh, a venerable old man, a native of Lucknow, and an elegant Persian and Hindoostanee scholar) had some years ago received Lutheran ordination, and officiated as Ministers of the Gospel. They had for some time, however, been anxious to obtain what they regarded as a more apostolic commission, and Mr. Bowley and Abdul Musseeh had been confirmed in their views by some conversation which I had with them at Chunar and Agra in my journey through Northern Hindostan. Mr. Reichardt appeared to have very carefully studied the subject, and they had none of them any discoverable motives for their wish but such as reflected honour both on themselves and the Church of England.

With this persuasion, and in consideration of the office which they had already filled as preachers of the Gospel, as well as the great distance which Abdul Musseeh and Mr. Bowley had travelled, the former little less than 800 miles to receive the sacred rite, I used the same freedom which I had done in the case of Christian David, in ordaining them Priests as well as Deacons, with the intervention of a month only between the ceremonies. Abdul Musseeh not understanding English, the service was translated into Hindoostanee by Archdeacon Corrie, under the able revision of Principal Mill and my Chaplain, Mr. Robinson. Abdul Musseeh read the Gospel in that language, and greatly impressed us all, both in that and his answers, with his deep apparent emotion, his fine voice and elegant pronunciation, as well as his majestic countenance and long white beard.

He has since returned to his flock at Agra, where he has a little Christian parish of twenty or thirty families, besides many hundred occasional hearers in the neighbouring cities and villages. I also admitted to Deacon's orders, a well deserving and well educated young man, named Adlington, a catechist likewise in the employ of the Church Missionary Society, on whom I hope to confer the Priesthood next autumn. By that time the Rev. Mr. Wimberly (one of the Company's Chaplains, but as yet a Deacon only) will be also qualified to become a candidate.

I believe I mentioned to your Grace in my last letter the sort of amicable intercourse which I had maintained with different sects of Oriental Christians, and particularly with some Bishops of the Armenian Church. One of these, whom I had previously met at Dacca, Mar Abraham, a suffragan dependant on the Patriarch of Jerusalem, was much with me, and still more, I think, at Bishop's college, during my late residence at Calcutta. He, like the Syrian Metropolitan, attended service in the cathedral, and I was happy to be able on different occasions to treat him with respect and hospitality. His sect, (I need not inform your Grace) is Monophysite, and the Liturgy of his Church, grievously

crowded with superstitious observances, approaching to those of the Roman ritual. They disclaim, however, earnestly, the Pope and some of the distinguished tenets of Popery, and both my friend Mar Abraham, and some others of his nation, express a great admiration of our Liturgy, and a desire (which I think claims all the encouragement in our power) to draw near us, and learn from us. One of their nation, named George Avdal, has offered his services to Bishop's College, to translate our Liturgy into Armenian, to which may be prefixed, if God gives me health and leisure to finish it, a short account which I am drawing up of the foundation, reformation, and history of the English Church, which, I am led to believe, may do us great service among the eastern Christians, and may be advantageously circulated not only in Armenian but the other languages of Asia. And, if Mr. Avdal does his work well, I think of employing him still further in rendering into that language some of the Homilies of St. Chrysostom, and of such other Fathers as the eastern Church hold in most honour, but of whom, except by name, they know nothing. By such means, duly persevered in, and practised with meekness, and without the appearance of dictation or superiority, it may be hoped, under the Divine Blessing, that some of the grosser ignorance may be removed, and some of the more crying abuses reformed, which have, for many centuries, overspread the most ancient and illustrious sects of Christianity. Bishop Abraham complained, with much feeling, that almost all the books of devotion or instruction which the Armenian nation possess, are printed at Venice, and, in many instances, *interpolated there;* and he seemed extremely well disposed to recommend to his Patriarch a plan which I suggested, of obtaining such works in future from the press of Bishop's College. It is my purpose to write on this, and other similar subjects, to the Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel and Promoting Christian Knowledge, and I trust that we shall have some assistance from them in carrying these measures into execution.

Bishop Abraham evinced, on leaving Calcutta, his confidence

in myself and Principal Mill in a yet more remarkable manner, in committing to my care for education at Bishop's College, a very pleasing young man, a Deacon of his church, and related to himself, who had attended him from Palestine. He said that the Armenian church felt the want of a more liberal education than they could usually obtain for their Clergy; that, in particular, a knowledge of the English language and literature would be very valuable to them, and that this young man, who, having good talents and powerful interest, was likely to be called, eventually, to a conspicuous station in the Church of Jerusalem, was exceedingly anxious to learn any thing which we might have to teach. He professed a willingness to pay, to the best of his power, towards the expence of his remaining with us, but, well knowing his poverty, I told him that was needless. I have accordingly arranged with the Principal, and College Council to receive "Mesrop David" on the same terms of inmate and guest on which Christian David, the Tamul Clergyman, was received on a former occasion. They agreed with me that it was an opportunity not to be lost of improving and extending the influence of our Church among his countrymen, and should the Society for Promoting Christianity in Foreign Parts object to his being supported at the college expence, I will most cheerfully take it on myself.

From Ceylon I have heard actually nothing which can be regarded as authentic since I last addressed your Grace, and the continued silence of the acting Archdeacon, the non-appearance of the Tamul and Cingalese teachers expected by the college, and the unpleasant reports which have reached me from other quarters, are calculated to give me much disquietude respecting the success of the plans on which I had built so much, and which I detailed to your Grace, I fear, with too much exultation.

At Bombay one of the Chaplains, whose conduct and character have, on many previous occasions, given me great uneasiness, has been attending a conference of American Independent Missionaries, and receiving the sacrament at their hands. Admonition

from me I have no reason to suppose does him any good, and I have found, to my surprise, no provision for the punishment of this open and daring schism in any of the canons, nor in any of the few books on ecclesiastical law which are within my reach. May I request your Grace, at your leisure, to favour me with your opinion and instructions on the subject?

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I remain, my dear Lord,
with much respect and regard,
Your Grace's much obliged and faithful
Servant and Suffragan,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

I forgot to mention to your Grace that I have heard of the arrival of the Syrian Metropolitan, Mar Athanasius, in Travancore, but that I do not yet know whether his claims have been recognised by the Malayalim Church. I wrote him, some time ago, a long letter, which was translated for me into Syriac by my friends Principal Mill and Mr. Robinson, and Mar Abraham added one from himself, which, as coming from an Asiatic and Monophysite, is likely, I hope, to have much weight with him. In it he encouraged him to place confidence in the friendly disposition of the English Church, and cautioned him, very earnestly, against the arts and encroachments of the See of Rome and its Clergy.

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TO MRS. HEBER.

*Madras, February* 27, 1826.

DEAREST LOVE,

I have been so much hurried with business, that I have only just time to save the dâk. I am very well, and established in a

very comfortable and handsome house which Government have taken for me. We had, on the whole, an unpleasant, as well as a tedious passage. The ship is a fine one, and well manned, and the living on board abundant and comfortable, but she was so much out of trim, owing to the bad arrangement of her cargo, that she could carry very little sail, and lent over on one side so strangely, that, had bad weather come on, it would have fared hardly with us. The captain is altering the arrangements, and I hope, for the sake of all concerned, that this may prove sufficient, though, as the ship is also leaky, I have some doubts. We had much sickness on board; one poor man died of cholera, and was committed to the sea a few hours before I came on board. A woman I left not likely to linger more than a day or two, and for some days back had been insensible or nearly so, the victim of long habits of drunkenness, and, unhappily, not at all disposed to profit by the advice and prayers of Mr. Robinson and myself. From most of the other invalids, however, and from the sailors, we met with great attention and gratitude. A poor little baby died while we were on board, and I buried it, the first funeral at sea which I had seen. I thought of Southey's "Oliver Newman" when the coffin's plunge was heard.

The mother was one of the ladies on board, a Mrs. S., wife of a merchant in Calcutta, going home with her infant, on account of her own ill health: her distress was very grievous and affecting, particularly to one who was himself a father, and a husband. Though almost broken-hearted, she shewed a Christian temper, prayed for resignation very earnestly and humbly, and was, I think, remarkably supported by God in her own utter weakness and helplessness, both during her child's sufferings, which were very severe, and after his death. In the former case, she begged me earnestly to come and pray for him, which of course I did, and did my best to comfort her afterwards. It has ended in my asking her to occupy a room in this house during the two or three days that the vessel's cargo is shifting, when no sick person could, with tolerable

comfort remain on board, and she was not able to get a lodging on shore.

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Of the other passengers, one, a Lieutenant Kenny, is a pleasing and gentlemanly man, going home in a miserable state, covered with ulcers from head to foot, the effect of the Arracan fever. I asked him also on shore, but he could not bear going through the surf, or even being moved into the boat.

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The surf, when I landed, was very moderate to what I expected to see, though it would have swamped any boat but those built on purpose. I breakfasted this morning with Sir T. Munro; he was very kind, and expressed regret that the want of accommodation in the Government House, prevented his asking me there during my stay. In the course of my conversation with him, I saw many marks of strong and original talent. I hope to commence my journey on the 13th. It will be very hot; but Sir Thomas Munro tells me, that if I avoid the Monsoon on the Travancore coast, I may perform it safely, and with tolerable comfort. Be assured, dearest love, I will take care of myself, and run no needless risks.

Your affectionate

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Madras, March* 7, 1826.

MY DEAREST WIFE,

I enclose you a letter from poor Mrs. S., my late fellow-passenger, which I received the day after she left this house. The case she tells is a painful and interesting one, but one which I can-

not assist, so far as I can perceive; and there are others who have far stronger claims on me, than a deserving young man, of whose wife I know very little, and of himself still less. Nevertheless, when I read this account of patient and honourable exertion, battling hard with adversity, I could not help feeling very strongly my own unworthiness, and how deep a thankfulness I owe to God, whose mercy has thus far protected me, and those most dear to me, from the state of dependance, privation, and anxiety in which so many men, my superiors in many respects, are doomed to languish. Heaven grant that I may hereafter make a better use of its blessings!

I was much pleased to hear that my dear wife had been busy in the girls' school. You will, I fear, have a great deal of trouble there; but I am sure you will not grudge it. I have been seeing the two large schools, the Male and Female Orphan Asylum, in which Dr. Bell first displayed his talents for education. The former is very flourishing, under the inspection of the senior chaplain, Mr. Roy, and both in the progress and health of the boys is superior to the free school of Calcutta. The latter is but ill-conducted under a country born female, the widow of a missionary, who, though a worthy sort of woman, has not talent or energy for her situation. I have also seen a magnificent display of native schools and native converts at Vepery, under the care of two Danes, (Dr. Rottler and Dr. Haubroe) sent out by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The girls here read better, and hem quite as well as those under Mrs. Wilson's care. They are chiefly managed by Mrs. Haubroe, a young Dane of Tranquebar, who seems an excellent person.

I hold my confirmation to-morrow, and am promised 500 candidates, of whom about 150 will be Tamul; my visitation is on Friday.

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The chaplains here are a remarkably good and gentlemanly set, and I am greatly impressed with reverence for the worthy old

missionary Dr. Rottler. The weather is very hot, as hot, they say, as it is likely to be here; but I am extremely well. Nobody could be kinder or more considerate than both Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Hill have shewn themselves. They have assigned me a most comfortable set of tents,—assigned me (what you will be glad to hear) a surgeon, Mr. Hyne, the deputy assay-master, said to be a very clever and agreeable man, and a young officer, Captain Harkness, by way of guide, and to command the escort, who knows the language and country of Travancore well, besides lending me two saddle-horses, and a small stock of plate, my own being, as they tell me, insufficient for the numbers of which my party will now consist. All this consideration is so much the kinder in Sir Thomas Munro, because he is now much occupied with domestic distress, Lady Munro being about to return to England with one of her children who is ill. Lady Munro is a very lovely woman, and of remarkably pleasing manners; every body here seems to regret most honestly her going away, saying that her whole conduct has been made up of good manners, good heart, and sound solid judgement. I do not know that higher praise could be given to a "Lady Governess."

I set out on Monday, the 13th, *via* Trichinopoly, &c., to Travancore. I shall, I am told, find it very hot, but with care, shall run no risk in point of health. There are some beautiful churches here, the other buildings are less handsome than I expected; the country less green than Bengal, and the climate, at this season at least, considerably warmer. Much as I feel your absence, I cannot repent of having left you behind. No accommodations are to be obtained in the Neelghurry hills, and to take children at this season through Travancore, every body tells me would be madness.

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Poor Dr. Smith! I was shocked to hear of his death, and grieve for his poor widow. Yes, dearest, I am sure you will shew

her all kindness. Adieu, dear, dear love! God bless you and our babes.

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO MRS. R. HEBER.

*Camp near Alumbura, (one day's march from Pondicherry,)*
*March* 16, 1826.

I have had little or no time to keep a journal, but was determined to make a beginning, and now send it to you. I am very well, and am travelling comfortably through a pretty country, in which almost every thing reminds me of Ceylon, (I mean its sea coast.) I have excellent tents and horses, and like my fellow travellers very well. Sir T. Munro has written to all the collectors on the road to assist me in every way, (as was done by the Government of Bengal on my former tour,) and has himself taken great pains to settle every thing for me beforehand. Captain Harkness, the commander of the escort, says he has even directions, in case Mr. Hine should fall ill, to *press* the first surgeon, or assistant-surgeon, whom he may find, to accompany me as far as may be necessary. The weather is about as hot as it was in our excursion through Salsette with Mr. Elphinstone. Love to my dear little Emily, and kiss her and her sister for their affectionate father.

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

*Camp near Chillumbrum, (Carnatic,)*
*March* 21, 1826.

My dear Wynn,

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There were, indeed, several reasons which rendered my presence here extremely desirable, and some, which, as being characteristic of the country, may not be uninteresting to you. You are aware of the very considerable number (I believe about 40,000) of Protestant Christians in different parts of this Presidency, the spiritual children of Schwartz and his successors, and all now in union with the Church of England. These people, however, Christians as they are, have preserved very many of their ancient usages, particularly with regard to caste, which, both here and in Ceylon, is preserved with a fierceness of prejudice which I have rarely witnessed in Bengal, and which divides almost as perfectly a Soodra from a Pariah Christian, as it did the same individuals while worshippers of Vishnu and Siva. The old school of Missionaries tolerated all this as a merely civil question of pedigree and worldly distinction, and in the hope that, as their converts became more enlightened, such distinctions would die away. This effect has not followed; but, on the other hand, some of the younger Missionaries, both Germans and English, have not only warmly preached against caste, but in the management of their schools, and the arrangement of their congregations, have thwarted it as much as possible. They have even done more; having interfered with many ancient forms which are used by these people in their marriage ceremonies and domestic festivities, and which *they* conceive to be Pagan, while one of them has gone so far as, by way of punishment, to compel a school-boy of high caste to drink water from

the cup of a Pariah. A long complaint of these transactions, written in very good English, and with a long row of signatures, was sent to me by the Vepery congregation some time ago, and I have now many similar statements from different persons and congregations of the South. The difficulty will be to ascertain how far the feeling of caste is really civil, and not religious, and how far the other practices objected to are really immoral or idolatrous. On these topics I am now busily making inquiry, and hope, in the course of my journey, to come at the truth so nearly as to prevent, at least, any gross scandal, without intrenching materially on what I conceive the natural liberty of the new convert, to live in all indifferent things in the manner which he himself prefers, and which his ancestors have preferred before him. Both parties have evidently been to blame, and both, I have reason to hope, have already receded something in their pretensions. The high-caste Indians, for instance, had made one most abominable claim to have a separate cup for the Sacrament. And the Missionaries appear to me to have displayed a scarcely less blameable contempt of the feeling of their flocks, and a sour and narrow hatred of every thing like gaiety and amusement, when displayed under any other forms than those to which they had been themselves accustomed. A certain crown of flowers, used in marriages, has been denounced to me as a device of Satan.

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And a gentleman has just written to complain that the Danish Government of Tranquebar will not allow him to excommunicate some young persons for wearing masks, and acting, as it appears, in a Christmas mummery, or, at least, in some private rustic theatricals. If this be heathenish, heaven help the wicked! But I hope you will not suspect that I shall lend any countenance to this kind of ecclesiastic tyranny, or consent to men's consciences being burdened with restrictions so foreign to the cheerful spirit of the Gospel. The Protestants, however, are not the only people whose differences I have to compose. The Malayalim, or Syro-jacobite

Churches in Travancore, are also in a flame; and I am, as it appears, to be their umpire.

You are aware that the intercourse of these Churches with the Patriarchs of Antioch, had, for many years back, been interrupted, partly by the violent measures pursued by the Portuguese, and the intrigues of the Missionaries sent out by the Propagandists, and still more by the poverty of the Christians of Travancore, which disabled them from sending messengers so far, or paying the expenses of a foreign Metropolitan. Accordingly, for about fifty years, the jacobite bishops of Travancore have been all people of the country, and have succeeded each other by a sort of domestic nomination, each prelate, soon after his accession to the See, ordaining a coadjutor, "cum spe successionis." The present Metropolitan is named Philoxenus, and his coadjutor, who, for several years past, has transacted most of the business of the diocese, is named Dionysius; both of them, the former particularly, men of high character, both for piety and that sort of learning which is to be expected in an eastern monk. Last year, however, the publications respecting these people in Europe, which, by the way, are said to be marked (Buchanan's more particularly) with scandalous exaggeration, appear to have become known in Syria, and to have attracted the notice of the Patriarch to this remote portion of his flock, and two Syrian monks, named Athanasius and Abraham, with the titles of Metropolitan and "Ramban," or Archdeacon, arrived at Bombay whilst I was there, on their way to the Malayalim Churches, and with regular appointments from the Patriarch, "sitting in the seat of Simon Cephas, which is at Antioch." As it has always been my endeavour to conciliate and befriend the eastern Christians who find their way into India, both I and Archdeacon Barnes shewed them all the respect and kindness in our power, and we were on as good terms as people could be who had no common language, the strangers speaking only Arabic, and all our communication being filtered through an interpreter.

They attended Church, unasked, and received the Sacrament

at my hands; on which occasion I placed the Metropolitan in my own chair, and we embraced in a most brotherly manner at the church door after service. I was not without some fears as to the manner in which the new and old Metropolitans might adjust their claims, but thought myself bound to furnish Athanasius with a small viaticum for the rest of his journey, and with letters of recommendation to the English Missionaries established at Allepee and Cotyam, at the same time that I advertised them, by a post letter, of the visitor they had to expect, and gave Athanasius my best advice as to the moderation with which it would become him, under actual circumstances, to advance his claims.

The Missionaries I enjoined most earnestly to take no part, if they could possibly avoid it, in any disputes which might arise, and to recognize implicitly, with all due marks of respect and confidence, whichever Patriarch the majority of the Malayalim Churches might receive. How far either party has adhered to my counsels, I, as yet, hardly know. The Missionaries assert that Athanasius, and, still more, his Ramban, have been mere firebrands in the country, that they have excommunicated both Metropolitan and Coadjutor, and threatened them with personal violence; have annulled the orders which they had conferred, dissolved marriages, altered the interior of churches, and listened to no advice but that of a certain disaffected "Malpan," or Doctor, who was disappointed some years ago in his hope of being named Coadjutor instead of Dionysius. On the other hand, Athanasius has written to complain bitterly of the reception which he has met with from the Metropolitans (whom he admits, indeed, "that for their lies and sorceries he has cursed from his own mouth, and the mouth of the holy Patriarch, and the mouth of the Prince of the Apostles, Simon Cephas," &c.) as well as from "the English Priests, of whom thou spakest unto me, and the man which is the ruler of the land, even Travancore," meaning, I suppose, either the Rannee's minister, or the English Resident. At the same time complaint has been made to me from other quarters that the Missionaries,

though extremely well-meaning and correct men, have really been too much influenced by their natural friendship for the rival Metropolitan Philoxenus, and I am the more led to apprehend that something of this kind has occurred, from the decided tone which the Resident and Rannee have assumed, forbidding Athanasius to exercise his functions, though acknowledged (as I am assured) by the great majority of the people, and threatening to send him from the country. This last measure I have got suspended, at least till I can myself try my hand at composing the difference, or at ascertaining the real wishes of the Malayalim Church, which is meanwhile in a perfect flame, but which has expressed, I understand, a general desire that the English Bishop should settle the question.

The way in which I propose to do it is by assembling a general Synod of their Clergy, in which the claims of the rival Metropolitans and the customs of their Church shall be openly discussed, and the votes given by ballot. Vexatious and unfortunate as the occasion of such an assembly will be, it will be to myself extremely interesting and curious, since by no other means could I have hoped to become so intimately acquainted with this most ancient and interesting Church, which, corrupt as it is in doctrine, and plunged in lamentable ignorance, appears to preserve a closer resemblance in its forms and circumstances of society, than any other now in existence, to the Christian world in the third and fourth century after our Saviour. Meantime I am visiting the principal civil and military stations by nearly the same course which Bishop Middleton followed in the year 1816, hoping to reach Travancore early in May, and to return to Madras by the tract which he did not visit, of Mysore, Bungalore, and Arcot. The country, as far as I have yet advanced, is (though not generally fertile, and almost universally flat) as beautiful as palms, and spreading trees, and diligent cultivation can make it, and the ancient Hindoo temples, though inferior in taste to the magnificent Mussulman buildings of which I sent you a description from the north-west of India, are in size, picturesque effect, and richness of carving, far above any thing

which I had expected to meet with. Here, at Chillumbrum, (a town half way between Cuddalore and Tanjore) is a temple of Siva, covering with its quadrangles, its cloisters, its "hall of eleven hundred columns," and the other buildings which surround its sanctuary, a space of ground, I am persuaded, more than equal to Christ Church, with an establishment, if its abbot speaks the truth, (who, by the way, strange as it may seem, is himself of a low caste) of no fewer than 300 Brahmins. The place, however, which though of comparatively insignificant size, has interested me most from the association with which it is connected, is Māhăbālĭpoorum, "the city of the great Bali," with its ruins lashed by the surf, and the romance of its submarine palaces.

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I hope some day to find time for a more elaborate and intelligible view. But, indeed, I do not eat the bread of idleness in this country. Since my arrival at Madras, little more than three weeks ago, I have preached eleven times (including my visitation charge) have held four public and one private confirmation, visited five schools, attended one public meeting, travelled sixty miles in a palanqueen, and 140 on horseback, besides a pretty voluminous correspondence with Government, different Missionaries and Chaplains, and my Syrian brother Mar Athanasius. And the thermometer this day stands at ninety-eight in the shade. However I continue, thank God, on the whole, to enjoy as good health as I ever did in England. Busy as I am, my business is mostly of a kind which I like, and which accords with my previous studies. The country, the objects, and the people round me, are all of a kind to stimulate and repay curiosity more than most others in the world; and though there are, alas! many moments in the day (more particularly now that I am separated from my wife and children) in which I feel my exile painfully, I should be very ungrateful indeed if I did not own myself happy. Heaven grant that I may not be useless! When at Calcutta you have added much to my comfort by sending Grey there, who, I rejoice to say, is as po-

pular as he deserves to be. It happens now, remarkably, that all the three Chief Justices were my contemporaries at Oxford, and that I have always been on terms of friendly intercourse with all, though Grey was the only one with whom I was intimate.

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Lord Combermere, during his stay in Calcutta, was a great accession to our circle, and I really believe you could have found no person better suited to play the very difficult and important task which was placed in his hands, from his good sense, his readiness in despatch of business, and his accessibility, which had gone far to gain him the good-will of the Company's army, even before his success at Bhurtpoor; . . . . . . . . He appears at present to enjoy a higher reputation than any Commander-in-Chief since Lord Cornwallis, or any officer who has appeared in India, except Sir A. Wellesley.

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It is really strange how much importance has been attached to the fortress of Bhurtpoor. Even in the Carnatic, Sir Thomas Munro tells me, the native princes would not believe that it ever could be taken, or that the Jâts were not destined to be the rallying point of India, as they certainly are, by the little which I saw of them, among its finest races. I regret now I did not visit Bhurtpoor. I was within one march, and corresponded with the Raja, but was too anxious to reach Jyepoor, to accept his invitation.

Sir T. Munro is a man of very considerable talent, and is universally respected and esteemed by all whom I have yet heard speak of him; individually I have received much kindness from him.

Reginald Calcutta.

TO THE REV. CHARLES SHIPLEY.

*Tanjore, March* 28, 1826.

My dear Charles,

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I am again, alas, separated for several months from my dear wife and children, having been obliged to undertake the visitation of southern India in a season when it is dangerous for any but the robust and hardy to travel. The heat is indeed already considerable, and must be, ere many weeks are over, much greater. I am well, however, and am very closely and interestingly occupied in the visitation of the missions under the patronage of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the success of which, since the time of the excellent Schwartz, has been far greater than is generally known or supposed in Europe. On Easter-day, I confirmed seventy, and administered the sacrament to nearly 200 natives, and in the evening, when the service was in Tamul, I pronounced the benediction in that language on above 1300. The difference of numbers will be easily accounted for; since, in the former instance, few attended but those who understood a little English, the rest having attended the ministry of one of the missionaries early in the morning. This, however, is only in the city of Tanjore. There are scattered congregations, to the number of many thousand Protestant Christians, in all the neighbouring cities and villages; and the wicker-bound graves, each distinguished by a little cross of cane, of the poor people by the road side, are enough to tell even the most careless traveller that the country is, in a great measure Christian. The missions, however, are in a state which requires much help and restoration; their funds, which were considerable, have been sadly dilapidated since the time of Schwartz, by the pious men (but quite ignorant of the world) who have succeeded him, and though I find great piety and good-will, I could wish a little more energy in their proceedings at present.

I heartily wish I could stay here a month or six weeks, every hour of which time might be usefully and profitably employed. My time, however, is very limited, and I must press on to Travancore before the south-west monsoon shall have made travelling on the Malabar coast impossible.

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Thence, I hope, after visiting Calicut and Cannanore, to return by Seringapatam to Madras, and thence to Calcutta.

Heaven bless you, my dear Charles,

Believe me ever your's affectionately,

Reginald Calcutta.

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TO R. WILMOT HORTON, ESQ.

*Trichinopoly, April* 1, 1826.

My dear Wilmot,

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I have been passing the last four days in the society of a Hindoo Prince, the Rajah of Tanjore, who quotes Fourcroy, Lavoisier, Linnæus, and Buffon fluently, has formed a more accurate judgement of the poetical merits of Shakspeare than that so felicitously expressed by Lord Byron, and has actually emitted English poetry very superior indeed to Rousseau's epitaph on Shenstone, at the same time that he is much respected by the English officers in his neighbourhood as a real good judge of a horse, and a cool, bold, and deadly shot at a tyger. The truth is that he is an extraordinary man, who, having in early youth received such an education as old Schwartz, the celebrated Missionary, could give him, has ever since continued, in the midst of many disadvantages, to pre-

serve his taste for, and extend his knowledge of European literature, while he has never neglected the active exercises and frank soldierly bearing which become the descendant of the old Maharatta conquerors, and by which only, in the present state of things, he has it in his power to gratify the prejudices of his people, and prolong his popularity among them. Had he lived in the days of Hyder, he would have been a formidable ally or enemy, for he is, by the testimony of all in his neighbourhood, frugal, bold, popular, and insinuating. At present, with less power than an English nobleman, he holds his head high, and appears contented; and the print of Buonaparte, which hangs in his library, is so neutralized by that of Lord Hastings in full costume, that it can do no harm to any body. . . . . . . To finish the portrait of Maha Raja Sarbojee, I should tell you that he is a strong-built and very handsome middle-aged man, with eyes and nose like a fine hawk, and very bushy grey mustachios, generally splendidly dressed, but with no effeminacy of ornament, and looking and talking more like a favourable specimen of a French general officer, than any other object of comparison which occurs to me. His son, Raja Sewajee, (so named after their great ancestor,) is a pale sickly-looking lad of seventeen, who also speaks English but imperfectly, and on whose account his father lamented, with much apparent concern, the impossibility which he found of obtaining any tolerable instruction in Tanjore. I was moved at this, and offered to take him in my present tour, and afterwards to Calcutta, where he might have apartments in my house, and be introduced into good English society; at the same time that I would superintend his studies, and procure for him the best masters which India affords. The father and son, in different ways, the one catching at the idea with great eagerness, the other as if he were afraid to say all he wished, seemed both very well pleased with the proposal. Both, however, on consulting together, expressed a doubt of the mother's concurrence, and accordingly, next day, I had a very civil message through the Resident, that the Rannee had already lost two sons, that

this survivor was a sickly boy, that she was sure he would not come back alive, and it would kill her to part with him, but that all the family joined in gratitude, &c. So poor Sewajee must chew betel and sit in the zennanah, and pursue the other amusements of the common race of Hindoo Princes, till he is gathered to those heroic forms who, girded with long swords, with hawks on their wrists, and garments like those of the king of spades (whose portrait painter, as I guess, has been retained by this family) adorn the principal room in the palace. Sarbojee, the father, has not trusted his own immortality to records like these. He has put up a colossal marble statue of himself, by Flaxman, in one of his halls of audience, and his figure is introduced on the monument, also by Flaxman, which he has raised in the Mission Church to the memory of his tutor Schwartz, as grasping the hand of the dying saint, and receiving his blessing [a].

Of Schwartz and his fifty years' labour among the heathens, the extraordinary influence and popularity which he acquired, both with Mussulmans, Hindoos, and contending European govern-

[a] The Rev. Mr. Robinson being desirous to see also the Christian congregation at Kanandagoody, fifteen miles from Tanjore, and his Highness the Maha Raja's Chatteram, went to that place on the 15th April. He was much pleased to see a large congregation assembled, and after morning prayers, he gave a kind address to the Christians, animating them to be thankful to God for his great mercies shewed to them. The chapel at this place is a decent thatched building. It is also used as a school. Fifty poor children of the Christians are here supported by the bounty of his Highness, but instructed at the expence of the mission. The houses of the catechist and schoolmaster, which are also thatched, are built near the chapel. From Kanandagoody he went to his Highness's Chatteram, which is a Hindoo charitable institution, established by the present Maha Raja of Tanjore, not merely for the maintenance of brahmins, but for the poor of every description. This charitable institution has saved many hundreds from perishing when a severe famine and the cholera prevailed some years ago in the Ramnad, Shevagunga, and Madura districts. A circumstance that renders this institution worthy of notice is, that there is a charity school attached to it, in which children are instructed in the Tamul, Gentoo, Maharatta, Sanscrit, Persian, and English languages; to this must be added the Christian charity school at Kanandagoody, above mentioned. There are also two hospitals attached to the charitable institution, one for men and one for women suffering by sickness. A beautiful bungalow is also erected over the Chatteram for the accommodation of gentlemen and other Europeans going to the southward or coming from thence.—*Extract from a letter from the Rev. J. C. Kohloff.* Ed.

ments, I need give you no account, except that my idea of him has been raised since I came into the south of India. I used to suspect that, with many admirable qualities, there was too great a mixture of intrigue in his character; that he was too much of a political prophet, and that the veneration which the Heathen paid and still pay him, and which indeed almost regards him as a superior being, putting crowns and burning lights before his statue, was purchased by some unwarrantable compromise with their prejudices. I find I was quite mistaken. He was really one of the most active and fearless, as he was one of the most successful missionaries who have appeared since the Apostles. To say that he was disinterested in regard to money, is nothing; he was perfectly careless of power, and renown never seemed to affect him, even so far as to induce even an outward shew of humility. His temper was perfectly simple, open, and cheerful, and in his political negociations (employments which he never sought for, but which fell in his way) he never pretended to impartiality, but acted as the avowed, though, certainly, the successful and judicious agent of the orphan prince entrusted to his care, and from attempting whose conversion to Christianity he seems to have abstained from a feeling of honour. His other converts were between six and seven thousand, besides those which his predecessors and companions in the cause had brought over.

The number is gradually increasing, and there are now in the south of India about 200 Protestant congregations, the numbers of which have been sometimes vaguely stated at 40,000. I doubt whether they reach 15,000, but even this, all things considered, is a great number. The Roman Catholics are considerably more numerous, but belong to a lower caste of Indian, for even these Christians retain many prejudices of caste, and in point of knowledge and morality, are said to be extremely inferior. This inferiority, as injuring the general character of the religion, is alleged to have occasioned the very unfavourable eye with which all native Christians have been regarded in the Madras Government.

If they have not actually been persecuted, they have been "disqualified," *totidem verbis*, from holding any place or appointment, whether civil or military, under the Company's Government; and that in districts where, while the native princes remained in power, Christians were employed without scruple. Nor is this the worst; many peasants have been beaten, by authority of the English magistrates, for refusing, on a religious account, to assist in drawing the chariots of the idols on festival days; and it is only the present Collector of Tanjore who has withheld the assistance of the secular arm from the brahmins on these occasions. The consequence is, that the brahmins, being limited to voluntary votaries, have now often very hard work to speed the ponderous wheels of Kali and Siva through the deep lanes of this fertile country. This is, however, still the most favoured land of brahminism, and the temples are larger and more beautiful than any which I have seen in Northern India; they are also decidedly older, but as to their very remote age, I am still incredulous.

You will have heard, perhaps, from your brother, that I had the pleasure of meeting him in Ceylon. That country might be one of the happiest, as it is one of the loveliest spots in the universe, if some of the old Dutch laws were done away, among which, in my judgement, the chief are the monopoly of cinnamon, and the compulsory labour of the peasants on the high roads, and in other species of corvées. The Candian provinces, where neither of these exist, seemed to me the most prosperous parts of the country.

* * * * *

You will perceive from the date and tenor of my letter, that I am again on my visitation tour; again too, I am grieved to say, separated from my family. Circumstances had detained me so late at Calcutta, that the cool season was quite spent, and it would have been tempting Heaven to take them with me, in such a journey, at this time of the year. It is indeed intensely hot, often from 98 to 100 in the shade; but I could not defer it to another year, and I, thank God, continue quite well, though some of my

companions have suffered, and I have been compelled to leave my surgeon behind sick at Tanjore[b]. My chaplain I feared, yesterday, must have remained there also, but he has now rallied. I am compelled to pass on in order to get to Travancore, where I have much curious discussion before me with the Syrian Christians, before the monsoon renders that country impassable. This I hope to accomplish, but, meantime, the hot winds are growing very oppressive, and must be much worse than they are before I reach Quilon. The hospitality, however, of Europeans in India, assures me of house-room at all the principal stations, so that there are not, I think, above 200 miles over which we must trust to the shelter of tents alone.

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Ever your obliged and affectionate friend,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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In the last letter which the Editor received from the Bishop is the following passage, in closing the volume with which, she feels that she discharges a duty equally to him and to those whose claims, if he had been spared, he would himself have brought forward in a more formal and more efficient manner.

" Will it be believed, that while the Raja kept his dominions, Christians were eligible to all the different offices of state, *while now, there is an order of Government against their being admitted*

[b] Mr. Hyne died of an abscess in the liver the 4th of April.—ED.

*to any employment*[c] *!* Surely we are in matters of religion the most lukewarm and cowardly people on the face of the earth. I mean to make this and some other things which I have seen, a matter of formal representation to all the three Governments of India, and to the Board of Control."

[c] *Extract from Regulations of the Madras Government.*

1816.

*Para.* 6.—The Zillah judges shall recommend to the Provincial Courts the persons whom they may deem fit for the office of District Moonsif; but no person shall be authorized to officiate as a District Moonsif, without the previous sanction of the Provincial Court, nor *unless he be of the Hindoo or Mahommedan persuasion.* True Extract, D. M.—Ed.

# APPENDIX.

CIRCULAR OF MAR IGNATIUS GEORGIUS, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH, TO THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES IN INDIA, RECOMMENDING TO THEIR PROTECTION HIS ENVOY, MAR ATHANASIUS.

TO THE CHIEFS OF THE BRITISH NATION IN HINDOSTAN.

From the humble Ignatius Georgius the 4th, by the mercy of Almighty God, Patriarch of the throne of Antake (Antioch) the apostolic, the holy over the Syrians and Jacobites of Derah Zefran, and rest of the Nast.

THE SEAL.

Salutation to the most holy God, the Creator of bodies, and the releaser of souls, may this prayer be received for my dear and fortunate friends the chiefs of the countries of Hindostan, the pure, the friends of God, may the blessings of the Almighty be bestowed on them, and their families, and descendants, and on those who are united with them, through the mediation of our Lady the pure Mary, and the whole army of Martyrs, and the Saints. Amen!

Further, the cause of writing these lines of friendship and blessing is, in the first place to enquire after your affairs, and to acquaint you that I am constantly thinking of you, moreover we have sent to wait on you our fortunate children, Viz. Matran Abadool Museeha, and the Casis Ishaac, and Casis Abdulahud, and Casis Bushara, deputed to our Syrian Jacobite children who are with you, and are beneath the shadow of God, and the shadow of your power, for the completion of several affairs which are wanting. Now, our request of your magnanimity is, that on their arrival in your presence you may be pleased to cast a favourable eye on them, and recommend them to the care and attention of the chiefs of whatever places they may visit, or wherever they may dwell, for they are my children, and are unacquainted with the customs of that country (India). And, be it known also, that what belongs to you belongs to us, what delights us delights you, and that which grieves us you are not approving. And, praise be to God, the zeal or assistance in matters of religion of your exalted nation, the British, is famous in all parts, more especially with respect to our tribe of Syrians, and this has been the case from times of old, but particularly of late our mutual friendship has been increased. We beseech God that this may last between us until the last day. For these reasons, it is not necessary that we should appeal more at length to you, as your wisdom does not require a detailed explanation. Whatever protection and support you may be pleased to extend to my children is to be carried to the account of my weakness; and that which you have vouchsafed for my weakness will be taken into account by our Lord Jesus the Mighty, who will reward you on my behalf with innumerable blessings of vast and double measure, and we request His grace and favour that He may favour you constantly with His holy blessings, and may protect you from all trials both ghostly and bodily, and may uphold you, and make easy your affairs, and grant you your desires, and break the force of your enemies. May your souls be strengthened. May your children be protected, and may He open

the gates of mercy for you, and may He increase His favour and blessings, and His gifts on all of you, and may He grant you favour and prosperity in both worlds, peace in this world and life everlasting.

Favour me always with news of your condition, and do not reprehend us for not having entered your name; the reason is that no correspondence has, as yet, passed between us (we therefore know it not). This letter was proper to be written on account of your friendship, after giving you our blessings.

[Written 29th Tisreen 2d, A.D. 1823. Rubeeoosani 1239, Hejree.]

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### TO MAR ATHANASIUS.

[As translated into Syriac by Messrs. Robinson and Mill.]

*Calcutta, December,* 1825.

To the excellent and learned father Mar Athanasius, Bishop and Metropolitan of all the Churches of Christ in India, which walk after the rule of the Syrians, Mar Reginald, by the grace of God, Bishop of Calcutta; grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

I have earnestly desired, beloved brother in the Lord, to hear that the Lord hath prospered thy journey from Bombay, and that thou farest well, and art in good health in the land of Malabar. (I hope that they have rejoiced at thy coming even as they rejoiced at the coming of Mar Basilius, Mar Gregorius, and Mar Johannes [a].)

[a] The last *Syrian* Bishops, (before Mar Athanasius in 1825,) who went to rule the Church in Malabar, in 1751; all the Metropolitans after them (called Mar Dionysius, or Cyrillus, or Philoxenus severally,) being *Indian* Bishops of their ordaining.

And my prayer to God for thee is, that even as He led Patriarch Abraham from his country, and from the midst of his kindred, through faith, to a strange and distant land, He may even thus guide, protect, and prosper thee, and give thee health and grace, and every good gift, and increase unto thee the love of thy flock, and that the fruits of the Spirit may be multiplied to thee from them; as it is written, "Commit thy way unto the Lord, and trust in Him, and He shall bring it to pass."

Especially I have been desirous to hear from thee of the good estate of our brethren, the faithful, in Malabar, the Bishops, presbyters, and deacons; and also of my own children in Christ, the English presbyters who sojourn among you at Cattarjam: may God reward you according to your kindness towards them, and may the brotherly affection between you and them be daily increased and strengthened!

Furthermore, I make known to thy friendship that the desire of my heart, and my prayer to the Lord, is, that the holy name of Jesus may be yet further known among all nations; and also, that all that love the Lord may love one another, to the intent that they which are without may behold the unity and peace that is among you, and glorify God in the day of visitation. Like as was the desire of heart and prayer to God of the blessed Thomas Middleton, who fed the Church of Christ in this Episcopate before me, whose memory is blessed among the saints of Christ, whether they be of the family of England or of India; but they are not two families, but one, which is named after the name of the Lord Jesus, who sitteth at the right hand of God, in whom all nations, tribes, and languages are united, and shall be glorified together.

I also pray thee to write me word of the health of thyself and all that are with thee, likewise of the health of my own children, the presbyters of England, and what is their conversation among you.

Furthermore, I hope, if the Lord will, to pass to the cities of Madras, Tanjore, and Trichinopoly, visiting the Churches there

that are subject to me. And I desire, with God's pleasure, to pass on thence to salute thee, my brother, and the Churches under thee, that I may be filled with joy while I behold your order, and am a participator with you in prayers. And if there be any thing more which I have not written, it may be told when I come to thee, for (the daughter of the voice[b] is better than the son of the ink; and) it is a good time when a man speaketh face to face with his friend.

This letter is sent unto thee by the hand of a learned and faithful English presbyter, John Doran, one of the presbyters from before me, who proposeth if thou givest leave, to sojourn in Cottayam, even as the presbyters Benjamin Bayley, Joseph Fenn, and Henry Baker, have sojourned until now with licence of the godly Bishops of the Church of Malabar, to teach learning and piety to all who thirst after instruction, doing good, and giving no cause of offence. And I beseech thee, brother, for my sake, and the sake of the Gospel of Christ, that thou wouldest receive him as a son and as a faithful servant of our Lord, who is alone, with the Holy Ghost, most high in the glory of God the Father; to Him, therefore, be all honour and dominion for ever. Amen.

Moreover I entreat thee, brother, to beware of the emissaries of the Bishop of Rome, whose hands have been dipped in the blood of the Saints, from whose tyranny our Church in England hath been long freed by the blessing of God, and we hope to continue in that freedom for ever; of whom are the Metropolitans of Goa, the Bishop of Cranganor, and he at Verapoli, who have, in time past, done the Indian Church much evil. (I pray that those of thy Churches in Malabar[c] who are yet subject to these men may arouse themselves, and be delivered from their hands.) Howbeit the Lord desireth not the death of a sinner, but His

[b] "The daughter of the voice," in Syrian, means no more than a word. It is a very usual expression for it.

[c] i. e. All Churches of the Syro-Chaldaic ritual, one half of which are under the Romish yoke imposed by the Synod of Diamper.

mercies are over all His works, and He is found of them that sought him not.

Our brother Mar Abraham, a Bishop of the Armenian nation, who is sent from his Patriarch at Jerusalem, (may God rescue his holy city from the hands of the Ishmaelites,) salutes thee. He also brings a letter which was sent by his hand to thee, from the Syrian Patriarch at Jerusalem, and has not found means, hitherto, of forwarding it to thee at Malabar, and has therefore requested me to send it now to thee. All the Church of Christ that is here salute thee. Salute in my name thy brethren Mar Dionysius, and Mar Philoxenus [d], with the presbyters and deacons. (William Mill, and Thomas Robinson, presbyters, that write this epistle, in the Lord salute you.)

The blessing of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost be with you evermore. Amen.

*(Signed)* Reginald, Bishop.

*Written also in Tamul.* By the help of God let this letter go to the region of Travancore, to the city of Cottayam, and let it be delivered into the hands of the grave and venerable Bishop Mar Athanasius, Metropolitan of the Church of Malabar.

[d] The Ex-metropolitan, who resigned the chair to the last Mar Dionysius, and now lives in voluntary retirement at Codangalongery, or Anhur in the north.

LETTER FROM FATHER ABRAHAM OF JERUSALEM (AN ENVOY SENT WITH VISITORIAL POWERS, BY THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCH OF ARARAT, TO THE EASTERN CHURCHES OF THAT NATION IN INDIA,) TO MAR ATHANASIUS; SENT WITH BISHOP HEBER'S SYRIAC LETTER, BY THE HANDS OF MR. DORAN.

*Jan.* 6, 1826.

Abraham, a servant of Jesus Christ, from the holy see of Jerusalem (appointed Bishop and Nuncio on a spiritual visitation to the Churches of the Armenian nation in the East Indies,) unto our beloved brother in the Lord, the Right Rev. Mar Athanasius, Metropolitan of the Assyrian nation on the coast of Malabar, and to all the communicators in the true religion of Jesus Christ, and to all the beloved brethren attached to the Church, sendeth greeting;—

Grace be unto you, and peace from God our Father, the most High; and from our blessed Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Inspirer Holy Ghost!

I had the gratification to understand from our most beloved brother in the Lord, the Right Rev. Reginald, the Lord Bishop of the diocese of India (over the Christians of the Established Church of England) the good ministry, and adherence to the charge committed unto you by your superior, in being overseer to the flock of God, for whose redemption's sake Jesus died. This hath afforded me the greatest pleasure, and I always render my thanks to God for His grace, which is given to good Christian ministry by Jesus Christ. Permit me to remind you, ye brethren in the Lord, that according to Scripture the last days I see are come, when many false prophets and false Christs were to have risen, who dissemble in sheep's clothing, but in reality are wolves; such as some of the followers of the Roman Catholic Church are, who try to find access unto the flocks (embodied in the Church of Christ,) by the

unity of faith and brotherly love (through the triumph of the Gospel,) and are bent upon scattering and driving them deep into the pit of Satanical transgressions by superstition and idolatry: and, for the sake of personal ostentation among men, they endeavour to bereave and deprive the true believers from the glory of God; wherefore, be ye upon your guards, and watch, as the skilful shepherd, which thou art represented, according to the beaten tract of the heavenly good Shepherd; feed and watch with vigilance over the flock of Christ, even at the cost of blood. The more especially, I say, for the unity of faith and doctrine handed down from your ancestors, in union with the orthodox Church of Armenia, of which you are members, and the Head of us all is Christ blessed for evermore.

It is rejoicing to observe, that we are in expectation, according to the word of the Lord, to witness the end of the heathens, which seems to be near at hand through the propagation of the Gospel. It is gratifying to me to observe that the most part of India is blossomed with the light and cultivation of the diffusion of Scripture, through the indefatigable labours of our beloved brother in God, the most pious and true preacher of the word of God, our amiable friend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Moreover, his impartial intercourse with our Church, and his friendly reception of us in the English Church, has gladdened us beyond the power of the auxiliary, pen and ink, to convey fully my humble sentiments on this subject. It is truly rejoicing to see Christianity thus strengthened, without any distinction to sects and nations; brotherly love working together; one Christian with another; wherefore it behoves me to hail, that the day of salvation and the acceptable time is now visible in our age. I avail myself, in so reasonable a time, to remind you, our beloved brother in the Lord, of the ministry thou hast received from God, through the grace of the precious Cross: minister thou the word of life unto the believers, as well as the unbelievers and heathens, at the station where your ministry extends, that thou mayest be enabled to rescue

the lost from the jaws of Antichrist. It is the bitterness of times that needs the sweetness of the Holy Scripture to be diffused, that the fruits may prove acceptable to the Almighty.

Be it known to our worthy brother in the Lord, that, during the usual course of my communication with the Holy See of Jerusalem, I had the honour of receiving a letter of blessing and loving-kindness from the Right Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of the Assyrian Church, at the Holy Land, to your address, which would have afforded me the greatest source of pleasure to hand over to you personally, and to partake, myself, of the pleasure of your brotherly kindness, and to witness your good ministry of the Church and the congregation committed to your charge, of which I have heard so happy an acconnt from our friend and brother, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta; but unfortunately it did not prosper so; for the ship, on board of which I was a passenger, did not touch on the coast. However a very favourable opportunity occurred since our brother, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, during his conversation, mentioned to me, that he was on the point of forwarding you an epistle in the Syriac language. I availed myself of that opportunity to deliver to him the letter to your address, (above alluded to,) to be enclosed in it at the same time, and am much obliged for the brotherly love, that he has done so, and trust to God it will reach you in safety.

I had written these few lines in the Armenian language; but thinking perhaps none of my nation might happen to be there, to convey my brotherly love and greeting to you; and none of my handful nation here understanding the Syriac language to translate it, I have therefore got it transcribed into English, a language generally understood all over India; and I hope you will find some one of the station to read it to you.

I have prepared myself to go on board an Egyptian vessel, named Alib Rohonang, towards the Holy Land; should it please God to prosper that the vessel should touch at Allepee, (as I am given to understand,) I promise myself the pleasure to send in-

formation thence to you and the brethren of the Church, and to fulfil my heart's desire.

Our brother, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, joins me in greeting you and the brethren of the Gospel of Christ. Both the Armenian and English Churches of Calcutta salute your Church. All the brethren of both our Churches greet you, and greet ye one another with a holy kiss. May health and long life attend your holy ministry; and the grace and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.

Pray for me, that I may be enabled to prosecute my course to the Holy City of Jerusalem.

The salutation and prayer of me, Abraham, with mine own hand.

*Calcutta.*

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THE SECOND LETTER TO MAR ATHANASIUS.

*March* 22, 1826.

To the honoured among Bishops, Mar Athanasius, Metropolitan of the Churches of India which follow the Syrian confession, my dear Brother in the Lord Jesus, Reginald, by Divine permission, Bishop of Calcutta, wisheth health, peace, and increase of prosperity in this world and the world to come. Amen!

This second letter I write unto thee, my Brother beloved in the Lord, to let thee know that by God's mercy I have reached the country of Madras, whither thy letter, which arrived in Calcutta after my departure thence, hath been sent after me. I was comforted to learn thy safe arrival and good health among the churches of thy people; yet I have much grief and heaviness of

heart to hear that the enemy hath sown trouble between thee and our brethren Philoxenus and Dionysius, which in time past had guided and governed the churches of Travancore in their desolation, when no tidings came from Antioch for many years, and the people of the Lord, (but for them whom God raised up to feed his flock,) had been scattered on the mountains as sheep having no shepherd. Let this, my brother, incline thine heart to shew them favour, and may the good spirit of God move them to render thee all worthy honour and obedience, both for thine own sake, and his that sent thee!

Furthermore, I have spoken concerning thy business to the Most Excellent Governor of the English nation which is in the city of Madras, who had heard divers things reported against thee; to whom I said, "Athanasius is my brother, and while he sojourned in Bombay, appeared himself in all things blameless, and of a truth he brought letters with him from the honoured Father in Christ, the Patriarch of Antioch; perhaps the things are not true which are reported; why then should he be sent away from the land? And now, behold, I go southward, even to Trichinopoly and Quilon; it may be that I shall reconcile him to his brethren. I pray thee write thus much to the Queen of Travancore and the deputy that dwelleth in Quilon;" and the Governor has written as I desired. Wherefore, my honoured brother, when I come into your borders, as, by the grace of God, I hope in forty days to come thither, my desire is to be allowed to be a maker of peace between you, not as having authority, for I am a stranger in your Church, neither desire to rule over any but my own people; not as having wisdom, for I would gladly learn of you in things pertaining to the truth, but as your brother in the Lord, and the servant of the Churches of Christ; and as desiring, like Mordecai, to speak peace to all the children of God, and to say unto you that strive together, as Moses said unto the Israelites, 'Sirs, ye are brethren, why do ye wrong one to another?' But my counsel is, that all the Malpans and Catanars of the Church, also thou thyself, and

the brethren Philoxenus and Dionysius, should come together to meet me in one place, even at Cotym, and testify unto me concerning the customs of the Church, and all things belonging to the same; and that all men may speak their mind freely and without fear, I will bring with me learned men, who speak both Arabic and the language of the Malayalim, (but who are not of the number of the priests sent heretofore for the College of Cotym,) and I can hear both what is said, and what thou desirest to speak unto me in secret; and whereas there are some which say that Philoxenus is no Bishop, and some which say that he was consecrated by laying on of hands and the Holy Ghost, even as thou wert, this thing may be enquired of at the mouth of many witnesses, and the will of the Church be made known whom they choose to obey. And in the meantime, my Brother, forasmuch as it hath been said of thee, 'he is a violent man, and seeketh to change times and hours;' let me pray thee to be patient, if in the days of darkness and trouble any thing have been done amiss, awaiting the time that thy power shall be strengthened, and the Lord shall cause all thy ways to prosper. But I speak as unto the wise. Thou knowest that the priests of the high places were not at once cut off from Israel; how much less those whom a Bishop hath ordained, though in the absence and without leave from Antioch. Likewise, in the days of King David, Zadok and Abiathar, were both high priests in the Tabernacle, though the true priest, having Urim and Thummim was Abiathar son of Abimilek, only; and thus it may be that the anointing shall be on thy head, and the government shall be on thy shoulders, and yet the place of honour next to thee may be given to them that kept the flock before thy coming. (But of these things we may discourse together when there is opportunity.) And further, if any man have wronged thee, speak to me thereof without fear; am I not thy brother? even if he be of my own people, as far as I have power, he shall not go without correction. Salute the Bishops Dionysius and Philoxenus in my name, I call them Bishops, forasmuch as

they have been so reported unto me by divers sure tokens, and I trust they may be found Bishops indeed. Salute the Rabban Isaac, thy fellow traveller and mine, whom I met at Bombay. Salute the Malpans and Catanars. The priests, Thomas Robinson and John Doran, (concerning whom I wrote unto thee,) salute you. Verily John was sick at Madras, wherefore my letter was not hastened on. Nevertheless, he is now restored, by God's blessing, and is with me on my journey.

The Abuna Mar Simeon, the Armenian, who was with us at Bombay, and who has been now again with me at Madras, salutes you. Grace and peace be with you all, from God and our Lord Jesus!

If thou hast any thing to write, let thy letter be sent unto me, in the city of Palamcottah.

Written in the land of Coromandel, nigh unto the city of Alumbura.

(Signed) REGINALD, BISHOP.

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## LETTER TO MAR PHILOXENUS.

*Sent March* 27, 1826.

To the honoured among Bishops, Philoxenus, raised up of God to be a guide and shepherd to the Churches of India which hold the Syrian confession, Reginald, by divine permission, Bishop of Calcutta, wisheth health, grace, and much prosperity from God and our Lord Jesus.

I have heard from many witnesses, my brother beloved in the Lord, of the works which thou hast wrought, and thy deep tribulation, and thy labour of love which hath been shewn towards the Church of Christ among the Malayalims, at a time when no tidings

came from the Church which is at Antioch, and there were many dangers and much sorrow without and within, on the right hand and on the left, from the idolatrous people and the false brethren. Likewise how thou hast made choice of a wise and holy man, even the brother Dionysius, to judge the people in thy room, and to teach them the pure and certain doctrine of the Lord, and that thou hast sealed him to the work by the laying on of hands, to the intent that the grace which was given thee might not perish, but that after thy decease, a witness of the truth might not be wanting in Israel, until the time that the Lord of the vineyard shall return to reckon with his servants.

Which thing also was made known to the blessed Father in God, Thomas Middleton, who, before my weakness came hither, was Bishop of Calcutta and the Churches of the English in India, who beheld also your order and the grace of God which was among you, and was glad, and spake thereof unto all the chief of our nation. Insomuch that in the land of Feringistan, which is Chittim, and Ashkenaz, and Gomer, the glory of the Lord was made known, not there only, but in Britain also, which is our own land; where the blessed Apostle Paul, after he had been in Spain, in times past preached the Gospel, even as the Apostle Thomas did with you, whose memory is at this day blessed among the Churches of India.

For which cause also, the holy Father in Christ, the Patriarch of Antioch, having heard of your love and the truth and patience of your brethren, sent our brother Athanasius to carry his letters to you, and to testify unto you all the things which were in his heart as a faithful Bishop and Evangelist; at whose coming, when I heard the same in Bombay, my heart greatly rejoiced, hoping that, by communication with him, yourself and your flock might be the more established in faith, and that love might increase more exceedingly with all knowledge. Whence then is it, my brethren, that there are wars and envyings among you? God is a God of peace, not of division; a God of order, not of disorder;

and by all these things the name of Christ is blasphemed among the Gentile, and the souls of many shall be turned into perilous heresies ; such as are taught by the priests of the Bishop of Rome, which are in Cranganore and Verapoli, from whom, in time past, great sorrow hath arisen to this people. Let me entreat you then my brethren, on Christ's behalf, that you be reconciled one to another, in honour preferring one another, and each desirous to take the lowest room, to the end that ye may reap an exceeding weight of glory hereafter. And forasmuch as the people are divided, and this man is of Philoxenus, and that followeth after Athanasius, my counsel is that the multitude must needs come together, and that the priests of the order of Aaron and the holy Levites, which are the deacons, be called into one place to declare openly, according to the knowledge given unto them, what hath been the custom of your fathers, and whom they will obey as their Bishop and faithful Shepherd. Like as it is written, " if thou hast any thing against thy brother, tell it unto the Church, and he that will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." At which time, I also, if it seemeth good unto your discretion, will be present with you in Cotym, not as a ruler, for I am a stranger among you, nor as a judge, for who am I that I should judge any but mine own people? but as a brother in Christ, and a faithful witness of that which shall be determined, and who may plead the cause of your nation with the Queen of Travancore, and with the most excellent Governor whom the King of England hath set over his cities in India. And forasmuch as it is slanderously reported of thee that thou art no Bishop indeed, let this thing be also enquired into at the mouth of two or three witnesses, and let not thy heart be troubled in that I have known our brother Athanasius in Bombay ; for I have purposed, by God's grace, to know no man after the flesh, but to walk in these things according to the will of God, and the tradition of the Churches, and to speak peace, if it may be so, to both of you, (are ye not both brothers ?) and to acknowledge him, if difference must be

made, whom your people shall freely choose to rule over them; and within forty days I trust to be strengthened to come unto you.

Brethren, pray for me! Salute our brother, Bishop Dionysius, in my name, salute the brethren which are with you, the Malpans, Catanars, and Deacons, with all others of the Church. Salute our brother Athanasius. God grant that ye may be at unity with each other. The brethren which are with me, even Thomas Robinson (which was in time past known unto the Bishop Dionysius) and John Doran, salute you.

Grace, mercy, and peace, be with you and in the Israel of God! Amen.

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COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE REV. THOMAS ROBINSON TO MAR IGNATIUS GEORGIUS, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH.

1826.

The presbyter, Thomas Robinson, Ramban to the blessed Mar Reginald, bishop of the English churches in India, sendeth greeting and reverence.

I am not worthy to write unto thy Eminence, forasmuch as thy order in the Church of our Lord Jesus is the highest, and mine the most humble, yet since God hath thought me worthy to serve his honoured and blessed servant, Mar Reginald, the Bishop of our Church in India, I pray thee to receive my words as the words of him who was my master and my brother. The rather is it my duty to write to thee, because there were many things which were in his heart to say unto thee, and he was meditating a letter of peace to thee at the very time when the Great Master of all, the Chief Shepherd, called him to his eternal reward. With thy permission, therefore, I will relate to thy

wisdom what things he had already done towards thy churches in India, and what was farther in his mind to do. It is not unknown to thee, most reverend Father, from the information of the reverend Legate and Metropolitan of thy churches in Malabar, Mar Athanasius, that he met our blessed father, Mar Reginald, at Bombay soon after Pentecost, in the last year (1825,) and, as one bishop with another, partook of the holy mysteries with him at the altar of the English Church dedicated to St. Thomas in that city. Mar Reginald shewed great affection to Mar Athanasius in return for his love to him, and gave him letters to several persons of distinction among the English in this country, commending him to them as Metropolitan and Supreme Bishop of the Syrian Churches in India. After that time he saw his face no more, but he always remembered the brotherly intercourse that was between them; and when he wrote an account of his diocese to the Most Reverend and Excellent Mar Carolus, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Metropolitan of all the churches of the English nation, he made mention therein of Mar Athanasius, and his mission from your Eminence, and how, by his means, an end would be put to the irregularities that had heretofore prevailed in the church of the Apostle Thomas at Malabar. Also, when an English priest, Johannes Doran by name, came to him at Calcutta five months after, desiring to proceed to Malabar, our blessed Father gave him a letter to Mar Athanasius, requesting him to allow him permission to reside among his people, and to receive him as a son for his own sake. This letter I have now at length the satisfaction of sending to the care of your Eminency, and I will now relate from what cause, and in what manner, it was most unfortunately detained so long from the hands of Mar Athanasius, for our blessed Father most earnestly desired it should be delivered without delay, since it would, in all probability, have prevented his departure from the country, and healed the disorders and schisms that now so wretchedly divide your Church in India.

When the priest, Johannes Doran, had gone from Calcutta to

Madras on his way to the country of Malabar, he heard, for the first time, that there were dissensions between the Indian Bishops and the Metropolitan from Antioch, and being a stranger, he was advised by some persons that he should avoid taking any part in such controversies, even such as might seem just to him. Therefore, and on account of his health, he remained at Madras for two months, till the end of the month of February in this year, when Mar Reginald arrived there on his visitation to the southern part of his diocese. It gave him great grief to find that Johannes had delayed his progress, although he had given him letters to Mar Athanasius, as the head of those churches, in which also he had included another letter written by Abrahim Abuna, a legate from the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, to Mar Athanasius. As soon as he obtained these letters again from the hands of Johannes, on the 4th day of March, he sent them to Travancore, to be delivered into the Metropolitan's hands. He also sent answers to letters he had received from that land, in which he exhorted all who were subject to his authority, to reverence the ancient canons and usages of the Syrian Church, and to know him as the rightful head and Metropolitan of the faithful Indians in Malabar, who had been received as such, agreeably to your Eminency's letters, in a general convocation of the Church summoned at Cotym on December 29th, 1825, by the Bishop Mar Philoxenus. He also expressly and earnestly desired all these his children not to interpose the authority of the heathen government in Travancore, as defining any thing in the affairs of the Church, but to suffer all things to continue as they were from the old time, even since the heathen princes gave the Syrian churches of Malabar independant privileges, the people choosing their ecclesiastical governors according to the rites and usages which they held from the day of the blessed Apostle St. Thomas to this time, the government allowing their elections, and receiving those they elected, while they thus rendered to Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's, and to God the things which were God's. And forasmuch as it had been reported to Mar Reginald

that Mar Athanasius had acted violently in the Church, depriving those that had been formerly accounted bishops, and despising the authority of the rulers of the land, our blessed father was very careful to enquire into this matter, that he might represent it truly to all the deputies of the governors of the English in that land. In the meantime, the letter of Mar Athanasius to him, written one month before, which had been ignorantly sent to Calcutta, was given to him at Madras, and to this letter he sent an answer in the Syriac language on the 22d of March, which also I now enclose to your Eminency, wherein he assured him of his unaltered friendship, exhorted him to mildness and forbearance till he should come, and, with his permission and good will, mediate between him and those in Travancore who supported the Indian Bishops, assuring him also that he would not leave unpunished those who behaved unjustly or unkindly to him in any way. And Mar Reginald acted even as he had wrote, and he obtained a promise from the excellent Governor of the English at Madras, that he would confirm whatever appointment he thought good respecting the peace of the Church in Malabar. And your Excellency will see, by his letters to both sides, that he intended that Mar Athanasius should be acknowledged as metropolitan by all those who had power, and that the Indian bishops, when it should be seen they were truly such, should receive honour and maintenance as his suffragans.

In this belief and intention he wrote also a letter of friendship and brotherly love to Mar Philoxenus, as one Bishop to another, exhorting him to receive Athanasius, as sent by your Eminency, to rule them. I send a copy of that letter to your Eminency. I beg your Eminency's wise and careful attention to this account, and of the truth of it I myself am witness, for I wrote with my own hand the two letters to Mar Athanasius, and have been near to our blessed father as his Ramban and Secretary during all these transactions. Your wisdom will judge from this, with what grief and surprise Mar Reginald heard the events that took place at the

same time at Travancore. These events there is no need that I relate, as your Eminency has heard them clearly from Mar Athanasius himself; but the thing which gives most grief to the hearts of all who love the memory and rejoiced in the plans of our late blessed father in Christ, is that his two letters to Mar Athanasius were not received. The first letter which, as I have mentioned, was sent on the 4th of March, must have arrived at Travancore either on the same day Mar Athanasius was arrested by the Divan, and banished the country, or at least the day after; yet the letter was not sent after him to Cochin, where he remained many days. Nor was it told to Mar Reginald that his letter had not been delivered till many days after it had arrived at Travancore, and this news not coming to the Bishop till after Easter at Tanjore, no remedy was found for the evil, much less was the second letter delivered, which was written, as I have mentioned, twenty days later than the other. But as soon as Mar Reginald heard, as he did in the Passion-week, that the Metropolitan had been arrested by order of the heathen Government, he immediately wrote a letter to the British Deputy in Travancore, Colonel Newall, who was then living at some distance in the mountains of the north. In that letter he supplicated him to stop all these proceedings against Mar Athanasius, to wait for his coming before he listened to any accusation against the person bearing the commission of your Eminency, and recognized in that character, as he had no doubt he soon would be, by all of the faithful in Malabar. He reminded him moreover how infamous it would be to the English nation, if we should admit, in any degree, the accursed practices which we all condemn in the disciples of the corrupt Church of Rome, in their conduct towards the Legates from Syria, who came to the ancient Churches, which Divine Providence had now placed under our civil government and protection. Our blessed Father Mar Reginald, lived not long after the writing of that excellent letter. It was his mind to have followed it up by a letter to your Eminency, and by other acts calculated to ensure the peace of your Church at Malabar, when it pleased his

heavenly Father to call him to himself. The letter was, however, received by Colonel Newall, who immediately sent orders to the Divan of Travancore, to stay all farther proceedings against Mar Athanasius, and to authorize his return to the country. That letter arriving after the death of Mar Reginald, was opened and read by me. But, alas ! the news had already arrived from Travancore, that Mar Athanasius had already sailed from Cochin, and consequently that these orders of the Resident came too late. It would ill become me, most reverend Father, to obtrude any counsel of mine upon your Eminency, in an affair where the peace of your Church is so nearly concerned. Suffer me, however, to give you what are not mine, but the ideas of my honoured Father in the Lord, whose nearest wish after the prosperity of his own children, and the extension of the Gospel of the Lord by their means, was to preserve the integrity of the Church, subjected to your Eminency's rule in the land of Malabar. It appeared, then, to Mar Reginald, from very strict and accurate inquiries made into the truth of the circumstances, not only from those resident in Cotym, but from others also, that when the last Prelates (on whom be the peace of God) came from Syria to Malabar, Mar Gregorius of Jerusalem, Mar Basilius Maphiran, and Mar Johannes, they encountered the like opposition from the ambition of the Indian Bishop Mar Thona and his nephew, that Mar Athanasius has to encounter from the ignorance and prejudice of those opposed to him. Nevertheless, as disciples of Him who was lowly and meek in heart, and who by His own mouth and that of His holy Apostles, has taught us not to render evil for evil, but to overcome evil with good, they, after more than eighteen years quarrelling, procured the younger Indian Bishop to be submissive to their will, and (Mar Basilius being dead) Mar Gregorius consecrated him and honoured him with the title of Metropolitan, by the name of Dionysius. All this is not unknown to your Eminency, but besides this it is also true that there was a young Indian Priest, who, during all these troubles and contentions, remained faithful to the just cause of the Syrian

Prelates from Antioch. Him, therefore, during those troubles Mar Basilius had consecrated Bishop, by the name of Cyrillus. And it is said also, though with what truth I know not certainly, that when Mar Gregorius had given the title of Metropolitan to Dionysius, and when Mar Dionysius afterwards refused to give him the maintenance he agreed to give, then Mar Gregorius gave the same title of Metropolitan to the aforesaid Cyrillus. However this may be, as to his dignity of Metropolitan, or whatever right this may have conferred upon him, it is the confession of all in Malabar, of every party, that he was truly a Bishop by the consecration of Mar Basilius. That Cyrillus, as is sufficiently attested, consecrated another Priest before his death, A.D. 1805, by the name of Philoxenus, who again, in 1812, consecrated in the same manner him who now lives, and is called Mar Philoxenus. Now, though the title of Metropolitan is wrongly assumed by that Prelate, and the others whom he has consecrated, and ignorantly allowed them by the heathen governors of the land, it will not be doubtful to your Eminency that they are real Bishops, though there were not the number of Prelates present at the consecration which the Holy Canons ordinarily require. But in a barbarous land, where Bishops are very few, where intercourse with the see of Antioch was interrupted and difficult, it may seem perhaps to your Eminency, as it did to Mar Reginald, that it were better for a Bishop before his death to provide successors for himself, provided the real form of ordination be duly observed, than that the Church should be left entirely destitute of Bishops. More especially when at the demise of the true Metropolitan, more than twelve years ago, there was no provision for the continuance of lawful pastors among the people of Malabar, unless the other successions from Mar Basilius were admitted as true, which continued from Cyrillus to those who are now in Malabar. It was therefore in our blessed Father's mind to intreat your Eminency, and also his right reverend brother Mar Athanasius, to lay aside all prejudices from the reports of ambitious men in India, who often decry in their brethren those things

which they only desire for themselves, and that you would consult in these matters what is conducive to the peace, security, and welfare of the Church, not indeed giving place, even for an hour, to those prejudiced or wicked brethren who pretend to set up the right of the heathen magistrates to name Church Governors, against that of the See of Antioch, but not denying even to the gainsaying and the prejudiced, that character which is allowed them by the nation, if it should appear on due examination and trial by the faithful, the priests, and doctors of Malabar, that the character of Bishop does of right belong to them. By these mild means, and by inviting a fair and impartial trial of all doubtful matters, the peace and order of the Church will be best promoted. Our brethren and fathers of the English Church all look with the greatest interest and affection on the state of the Church of the Apostle St. Thomas, in Malabar, all desire earnestly to see it in peace and prosperity, and its connexion with Syria unimpaired, and they all will hear with sorrow of the violent removal of your Legate from this country. I am now engaged, as is my bounden duty, in giving an account of these transactions, with the whole of the wishes of our blessed Father concerning them, to our venerable Father and Lord Mar Carolus, Primate of England.

&c. &c. &c.

Thomas Robinson,

Priest and Ramban of Mar Reginald the Blessed.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER TO THE REVEREND WILLIAM ROY, SECRETARY TO THE MADRAS DIOCESAN COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

*Tanjore, October* 19, 1826.

* * * * *

Our dear Father, the late revered Bishop Heber, arrived here early on the 25th of March, and on the day following, which was Easter Sunday, he preached at the Mission Church in the Little Fort a most impressive sermon on Rev. i. 8. "I am he that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore." The powerful truths that proved the glory of the Saviour, and the most affecting arguments to prevail on every one to trust in Him, and to love and honour Him, made a deep impression on the hearts of the hearers. His Lordship then administered the Holy Sacrament to thirty persons of the English, and fifty-seven of the Tamul congregation. A great part of our native congregation, who understood English, attended the divine service, and although they could not have understood every particular of the learned, yet very awakening sermon of his Lordship's, being, however, much affected by it, after divine service they unanimously prayed his Lordship to grant them a copy of the same; most condescendingly he told them that he would send them a copy of it with some alterations, that they might be able to understand it better. We greatly lament that this kind promise cannot now be accomplished!

After divine service, his Lordship also signified his intention of seeing the Tamul congregation in the evening, and appointed the day following for the confirmation of the English and Tamul young people who were presented to him after Church. In the evening Divine Service was performed in Tamul at the Mission Church in the Little Fort. It commenced at half-past six. The Church was illuminated by the kindness of our Resident, Captain Fyfe. The Liturgy was read by the Rev. Mr. Bahrenbruck, and

Nullatambi, native priests. The Rev. Dr. Cæmmerer preached on St. John xi. 25. After the conclusion of the sermon, his Lordship pronounced the blessing in Tamul from the altar, *correct, and distinct*, to the great surprise and joy of the whole native congregation.

On Easter Monday, in the forenoon, after the reading of the service, twelve young persons of the English, and fifty of the native congregation, were confirmed by his Lordship, the former in the English and the latter in the Tamul language. The correctness with which his Lordship pronounced every word in Tamul, was not only striking, but will be always remembered by our native Christians as a proof of the apostolic spirit which was in him, a proof of his fervent zeal and benevolent disposition to promote the eternal welfare, not only of Europeans, but also of the poor natives.

In the evening, after the sermon, his Lordship delivered a most affecting address from the altar, to the missionaries and the native priests who were present, animating them to zeal and diligence in the discharge of their important work, under all trials and difficulties, according to the example of the holy Apostle and of Schwartz, the founder of this, and of the Trichinopoly mission. The address was delivered near the remains of the venerable Schwartz, and thereby rendered more affecting to every one present. It was delivered extempore. It seems his Lordship had no thought of delivering this address when he entered the chapel, and the thought struck him only at the sight of the number of missionaries and native priests whom he saw before him. Although it was delivered with remarkable plainness, yet every word of it came with power, and went through the heart. Oh how glad would I be if I had a copy of that excellent address! May a merciful God help us by his Holy Spirit, that we may always remember and do what has been told us by our dear Father!

On the three following days his Lordship spent a great part of the forenoon and afternoon in enquiring into the various con-

cerns of the Tanjore and Tinnevelly Missions, gave necessary directions to the missionaries to be observed by them for the good of those missions, and had the kindness to signify to them those directions in a letter written with his own hand, on Friday the 31st of March, the day he left Tanjore for Trichinopoly. Petitions were also presented to his Lordship by native priests, catechists, and poor. He received them with great condescension, granted the relief solicited for, and promised to do what could not have been done immediately. Two of the native teachers at this place were presented to his Lordship as fit subjects for being ordained, and were approved of by him.

The Rev. G. Sperschneider, who had been lately on a visit to the mission at Trichinopoly, having made mention, among other particulars, about eleven young people there who wished to be confirmed, I set out for that place in order to present them to his Lordship for confirmation, and arrived on the 2nd of April with the Rev. Mr. Schreyvogel. We attended divine service at St. John's, and had the happiness of hearing another very impressive sermon preached by his Lordship on 1 John v. 6, 7. His Lordship then let me know, by his chaplain, that as the English and Tamul confirmations could not conveniently be performed at the same time, he was purposed to confirm the young people of the Tamul congregation, early the following morning at the Mission Church in the Fort. In the evening his Lordship confirmed about seventy persons of St. John's parish, and delivered afterwards from the pulpit a most affectionate address to the young people in particular who were confirmed, to be faithful to their sacred engagements, and to watchfulness and prayer.

Agreeably to his Lordship's desire the Tamul congregation assembled very early on Monday morning the 3rd of April, at the Mission Church in the Fort. His Lordship arrived at sun-rise, and after the reading of usual prayers, he confirmed in Tamul eleven young persons of the Trichinopoly mission. The service was solemn and affecting, and I sincerely hope that every one of

those who were confirmed by the hands of our late dear Father, were deeply impressed with a lively sense of the solemn act performed by them. The service was concluded by the blessing pronounced by his Lordship in Tamul.

After service his Lordship took a view of the Mission Church, and expressed his regret at the decayed state it was in, and the distress of the mission, adding that, after deliberation, he would communicate his thoughts for the repair of the Church, and the good of the Trichinopoly mission; he also took a view of the English and Tamul schools, and the missionary's house, which are all built near the Church. A great part of the Tamul congregation being still present, his Lordship exhorted them to be Christians not only in name but in reality, to shine as lights before the heathen among whom they lived. He promised to send them soon a missionary, and wished that God would pour down his blessings upon them. He then very kindly took leave of me, and returned to the house of Mr. Bird, Circuit Judge. Little did I think that that was the last farewell—and never to see him again in this world!

Three hours had hardly elapsed since his Lordship left the Church, when a rumour was spread in the Fort that his Lordship had been taken dead out of the bath in which he went after his return from the Fort. The first notice was brought to me by one of the catechists, who came running out of breath, and delivered the mournful news with bitter cries and lamentations. I could give no credit to the melancholy report, till it was confirmed by a note from the Rev. Mr. Wright, which informed me that our dear Father was no more an inhabitant of this world.

In the afternoon I called on Mr. Robinson; we shed our tears over the smiling countenance of our late dear departed Father, and comforted ourselves with the thoughts of a better world, where there will be no sorrow, and where all tears will be wiped away. It is mournful, indeed, to reflect upon the sudden and abrupt manner in which our dear Father was removed from

our eyes, when we were admiring the Grace of God that appeared in him. To himself, however, death was gain. He died like a good servant of his Lord, who found him engaged in his proper work. But our loss by his departure seems irreparable. We have lost a Father, and this is a loss which God can alone make up. May He graciously grant that we may not be wholly disappointed!

Early the following morning I attended the funeral of our late reverend Father, which was conducted with all the honours due to his blessed remains. It was a mournful and afflicting scene, indeed, which I have not witnessed since the death of the venerable Schwartz.

On the 9th of April I preached to the Tamul congregation, and exhorted the Christians to consider the late mournful event as a warning from God to repent, and to shew their gratitude to God by a holy life. After the Tamul service I attended Divine Service at St. John's, and heard the excellent sermon preached by the Rev. T. Robinson, in memory of our late Father. It impressed on our minds not only that esteem and veneration due to the memory of our late beloved Bishop, but awakened us also to endeavour that we may be approved of the Lord when he shall be pleased to call us away.

* * * * *

I am, with great respect,

Reverend Sir,

your very obedient humble servant,

J. C. Kohlhoff.

68°
72°
34°
30°
26°
22°
18°
14°
10°
6°
CAUBUL
Peshawer
Attock
Ghuznee
C A U B U L
KANDAHAR
Mooltan
Wuch
Jesulmer
Bikaneer
Nagore
Jhodepoor
HYDERABAD
Tattah
Oodypoor
Puttun
Ahmedabad
Gulf of Kutch
Cambay
Baroda
SURAT
Din Head
BOMBAY
Poonah
Sattara
Goa
Laccadive
Islands
Head of the
Maldives
I N D
Longitud

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# GLOSSARY.

*ABDAR*, water cooler.
*Acbar*, native newspaper.
*Adigar*, minister.
*Admee*, man.
*Ap*, your honour.
*Avatar*, incarnation.
*Aumeen*, collector of revenue.
*Aya*, maid, or nurse.

*Baboo*, Hindoo title, answering to our esquire.
*Bandy*, gig or cart.
*Bangle*, bracelet.
*Begah*, land measure, differing all over India.
*Begum*, princess.
*Belathee*, foreign.
*Bhât*, bard.
*Bheestie*, water carrier.
*Bholiah*, row-boat, covered over at one end.
*Boolee*, large well.
*Boosa*, camel's food.
*Brinjarries*, carriers of grain.
*Bucher*, young one.
*Budgerow*, large cabined boat.
*Bukshish*, present.
*Bullum*, spear.
*Burkandaz*, inferior police officer.
*Burra*, great.
*Bundur*, harbour.
*Bungalow*, a cottage, made of bamboo and mats, with very projecting thatched roof.
*Bunyan*, trader.

*Cazi*, Mussulman judge.



*Caranchie*, native carriage.
*Charun*, bard.
*Chattah*, umbrella.
*Chobdar*, bearer of silver mace.
*Chokey*, chair, gaol, or toll-house.
*Chokeydar*, watchman.
*Chopper*, thatched roof.
*Chota*, little.
*Choultry*, Hindoo name for a resting place for travellers.
*Chudda*, sheet, or veil.
*Chumar*, leather-dresser.
*Chunam*, lime.
*Chuprassie*, police guard.
*Chowry*, whisk, for driving off flies.
*Clashee*, tent-pitcher, or manager of sails.
*Cofilah*, caravan.
*Coir*, coco-nut fibre.
*Colly*, creek.
*Coolie*, porter.
*Coomer*, crocodile.
*Coss*, about two miles.
*Cummerbund*, sash.
*Cutwal*, magistrate.

*Dâk*, post.
*Dandee*, boatman.
*Daroga*, superintendant.
*Decoit*, river pirate.
*Dewan*, a prime minister, and sometimes an agent.
*Dewul*, temple.
*Dhoolie*, litter.

*Dhurna*, mourning.
*Dooab*, a tract of country between two rivers.
*Duffuldar*, officer.
*Dustoor*, custom.
*Durbar*, a court where a levee is held.
*Durwan*, gate-keeper.

*Fakir*, religious mendicant.
*Feringee*, European.
*Firmân*, royal order.
*Foujdar*, commander.

*Gaowala*, cow man.
*Ghât*, in the east, a landing place; in the west and south, a pass of a mountain, or a range of mountains.
*Ghee*, rancid butter.
*Ghureele purndar*, poor man's provider.
*Gool*, small channel.
*Goomashta*, agent, or master.
*Gossain*, Hindoo hermit.
*Gram*, a kind of vetch.
*Guicwar*, sovereign.

*Hackery*, native cart.
*Hagie*, saint.
*Hamaul*, bearer.
*Hanjar*, Persian scymitar.
*Havildar*, officer in the army.
*Hooka*, pipe.
*Hat'hee*, elephant.
*Hoolee*, a famous Hindoo festival to commemorate the beginning of a new year; it is held in the vernal equinox.
*Howdah*, seat on an elephant.
*Hurkaru*, messenger.
*Hurrumzadu*, rascal.
*Huzoor*, your presence.

*Jaghire*, estate assigned by Government.
*Jaghiredar*, person holding a jaghire.
*Jeel*, swamp, or shallow lake.
*Jemautdar*, officer in the army, head man of a village, or house-servant.
*Jin*, saddle.
*Juldee*, quick.
*Jungle*, thicket.

*Kalean*, Persian pipe.
*Kamdar*, governor.
*Kayt*, writer.
*Khânsaman*, steward.
*Khelât*, honorary dress.
*Khitmutgar*, footman.
*Kibla*, the point where Mussulmans turn to pray.
*Killedar*, governor of a fort.
*Kincob*, brocade.

*Lac*, one hundred thousand.
*Lebada*, cloak.
*Log*, people.
*Lugana*, to make fast.
*Lungoor*, baboon.

*Malik*, master.
*Maharaja*, great king.
*Manjee*, steersman.
*Marabout*, holy man.
*Meidan*, plain.
*Messala*, mess.
*Mobarak*, lucky.
*Mohout*, elephant-driver.
*Mohur*, a gold coin worth sixteen rupees in Bengal.
*Moodelier*, native magistrate.
*Moonshee*, teacher.
*Moonee*, inspired person.
*Moullah*, Mahometan priest.
*Muktar*, chamberlain or prime-minister.
*Musnud*, throne.
*Mussaul*, torch.
*Mussaulchie*, torch-bearer.
*Mut*, obelisk.
*Mutwâla*, drunkard.

*Naick*, corporal.
*Nacoda*, captain of a vessel.
*Nagari*, great kettle-drum.
*Nullah*, brook, or small branch of a river.
*Nuddee*, streamlet.
*Nuzzur*, offering.

*Paddy*, rice in the husk.
*Pagoda*, Hindoo place of worship.
*Palkee*, palanqueen.
*Panchway*, passage-boat.
*Pawn*, the nut of the areca palm lime, and spice, wrapped in a betel leaf, and chewed by the natives.
*Peeta*, string.
*Peishwa*, sovereign.
*Pergunnah*, the largest division of land in a Zemindary.
*Peon*, messenger.
*Petarrah*, wicker basket.
*Pettah*, native town near a fort.
*Pice*, copper coin.
*Potail*, head man of a village.
*Pooja*, worship.
*Poor*, town.
*Pucka*, brick.
*Pulwar*, large boat.
*Punchaet*, jury of five men.

*Punka*, large wooden board suspended from the ceiling, and waved to and fro by ropes: also a fan.
*Puranas*, Indian mythological poems.
*Purwannu*, Government order.

*Rais*, master of a vessel.
*Rannee*, Hindoo princess.
*Routee*, small tent.
*Ruksut*, dismissal.
*Rutt*, car.
*Ryut*, peasant.

*Sahib*, lord.
*Saees*, groom.
*Sarbann*, camel-driver.
*Seer*, weight of about two pound.
*Sherabdar*, butler.
*Serai*, mussulman place of rest for travellers.
*Serang*, master of a vessel.
*Singh*, lion.
*Sircar*, governor, also a head servant.
*Sitringee*, tent carpet.
*Sirdar*, headman or minister.
*Soodra*, a Hindoo caste, composed of cultivators, mechanics, and artizans.
*Sotaburdar*, bearer of silver-stick.
*Sudder Adawlut*, court of justice.
*Sudder Dewannee*, court of justice.
*Suwarree*, retinue.
*Suwarrs*, horse-soldiers.
*Soubahdar*, officer of the highest rank in the army.

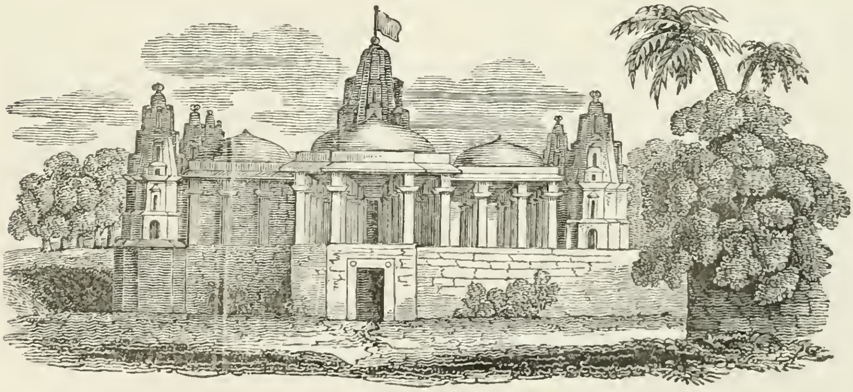
*Tank*, artificial pond.
*Tanna*, police-officer.
*Tattee*, mat made of cuscos-grass.
*Tattoo*, poney.
*Thakoor*, lord or baron.
*Thannadar*, officer.
*Tindal*, tent-pitcher.
*Tope*, clump of trees.
*Tonjon*, chair with a head.
*Tusseeldar*, tacksman.

*Vakeel*, envoy.
*Vedas*, Hindoo Scriptures.
*Veddahs*, hunters.
*Viragies*, religious mendicants.

*Yogi*, religious mendicant.

*Zemindar*, holder of Zemindarry.
*Zemindarry*, province.

JAIN TEMPLE.



*See page* 157, *Vol. II.*

THE END.

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